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The Origins and Development of the Church of St Cuthbert, 635-1153, with special reference to Durham in the period *circa* 1071-1153.

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Preface.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those whose help and encouragement have enabled me to complete this thesis. In particular, I am grateful to my Supervisors, Professor G.W.S. Barrow and Mr. A.E. Goodman, for their patient and invaluable criticism of the work whilst in progress. I received initial encouragement to begin an investigation into the history of Medieval Durham from Dr T.S. Brown and Dr. M.T. Clanchy and benefited, in the early stages of my postgraduate study, from the supervision of Robert Bartlett, now Professor of Medieval History at the University of Chicago. I am indebted to Mr M.G. Snape and Dr A.J. Piper who guided me through the abundant muniments of the Prior's Kitchen Archives in Durham Cathedral. Among those who have generously given their help and advice are Dr M.G. Dickson, Dr R. Virgoe, Professor J.H. Denton, Dr L. Hudson and Mr D. MacFarlane. I am grateful to them all. Finally, and above all, I should like to thank my parents for their unwavering support and encouragement throughout this undertaking.

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W. M. A.

The Origins and Development of the Church of St Cuthbert, 635-1154, with special reference to Durham in the period, circa 1071-1153.

Abstract of Thesis.

In the late eleventh century, the episcopal Church of St Cuthbert at Durham was one of the most powerful institutions in the North of England. Its power was derived from its possession of extensive landed estates which had been acquired since the late seventh century. Whereas the other ecclesiastical corporations of early Northumbria had succumbed to the successive waves of Scandinavian invasions, the Church of St Cuthbert had established a significant franchise and had augmented its landholding. The leaders of the Church were willing to lend their support to any secular ruler who would guarantee the safety of its possessions. The first Norman appointee to the bishopric, Walcher, was in a precarious position relying heavily upon the local Northumbrian aristocracy for his administration. Factionalism within Walcher's regime brought about the Bishop's murder at Gateshead in 1080. This incident forced William I to reconsider his policy in the North-East of England and he appointed William of St Calais to the bishopric and Robert de Mowbray to the earldom of Northumbria. Bishop William launched an attack on the position of the members of the pre-Conquest *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* by introducing a Convent of Benedictine monks to Durham in 1083. A re-examination of the early twelfth-century chronicle of Symeon, who was precentor at Durham, challenges the widely held view that there was a complete change in the personnel serving St Cuthbert's shrine in 1083. It is argued that a significant number of the *Congregatio* entered the Convent thus maintaining a strong local presence at the shrine. The Benedictine Convent served as the cathedral chapter and its relationship with its nominal Abbot, the Bishop, is surveyed for the period, 1083 to 1153. During the pontificate of William of St Calais, the Convent enjoyed a privileged status within the see. However, the elevation of Rannulf Flambard to the bishopric marked the beginning of conflict between the two institutions. The monks sought a definition of their franchise and this prompted them to confect a series of forged foundation charters which multiplied during the pontificate of Hugh du Puiset. The establishment of a French baronage within the Patrimony of St Cuthbert strengthened the Norman presence in the region, although a number of native families maintained their position. The surviving evidence suggests that the feudal structure of Durham was largely the work of Bishop Rannulf. Finally, the relationship between the Church of St Cuthbert and Scotland has been considered and it is argued that, in this period, the Bishop of Durham did not take an active role in the defence of the North of England. The Convent received grants of land from the Scots kings, most notably the church of Coldingham. As it had done between its foundation and the late eleventh century, the Church of St Cuthbert survived weathering the Norman Conquest and thereby ensuring that the cult of St Cuthbert at Durham prospered. By the end of the twelfth century it was rivalled only by that of Thomas Becket.

List of Abbreviations.

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| AA | <i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> |
| AB | <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> |
| AHR | <i>American Historical Review</i> |
| ANS | <i>Anglo-Norman Studies; Proceedings of the Battle Conference</i> |
| ASC | <i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> |
| ASE | F.M. Stenton, <i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> , (Oxford, 3rd. Ed., 1971) |
| BB | <i>Boldon Book</i> , ed. D. Austin, (<i>Domesday Book ; Supplementary Volume</i>), [Phillimore, 1982]. |
| BF | <i>The Book of Fees, 1198-1293</i> , 3 vols., (London, 1920-31). |
| BJRL | <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> |
| CHJ | <i>Cambridge Historical Journal</i> |
| Councils & Synods | <i>Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church</i> , eds. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke, (Oxford, 1981). |
| DB | <i>Domesday Book</i> , 4 vols., Record Commission, 1783-1816. |
| DC | Dean and Chapter |
| DEC | H.S. Offler, <i>Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071-1152</i> , (SS, vol. 179, (1968). |
| DJP | F. Barlow, <i>Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars</i> , (Oxford, 1950). |
| DOD | <i>De Obsessione Dunelmi</i> , in SMO, I, pp. 215-220 |
| DUJ | <i>Durham University Journal</i> . |
| EHD | <i>English Historical Documents</i> |
| EHR | <i>English Historical Review</i> |
| EYC | <i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , ed. W. Farrer and C.T. Clay, (12 vols.), YAS, Record Series, [1913-65]. |
| FPD | <i>Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis</i> , ed. W. Greenwell, (SS, vol. 58, [1872]) |
| HDE | <i>Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae</i> , Symeon of Durham, in SMO, I. |
| HDP | <i>Hugh du Puiset</i> , G.V. Scammell, (Cambridge, 1956). |
| HDST | <i>Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres</i> , ed. J. Raine, (SS, 9, [1839]). |
| Hexham | <i>The Priory of Hexham; Its Chronicles, Endowments and Annals</i> , ed. J. Raine, 2 vols., (SS, 44, 46, [1864-66]). |
| HR | <i>Historia Regum</i> , in SMO, II |
| HSC | <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> , in SMO, I, pp. 196-214. |
| JBAA | <i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i> |
| JEH | <i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> |
| J. Soc. Archiv. | <i>Journal of the Society of Archivists</i> |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>Libellus</i> | <i>Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus</i> , ed. J. Raine, (SS, 1, [1835]). |
| LVD | <i>Liber Vitae Dunelmensis</i> , ed. J. Stevenson, (SS, 13, [1841]); Collotype Facsimile, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, (SS, 128, [1923]) |
| NCH | <i>A History of Northumberland</i> , ed. Northumberland County History Committee, (15 vols., Newcastle, [1893-1940]). |
| ND | <i>The History and Antiquities of North Durham</i> , J. Raine, (1852). |
| NH | <i>Northern History</i> |
| n.s. | new series |
| PBA | <i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> |
| PR | Pipe Roll. |
| PU | <i>Papsturkunden in England</i> , (3 vols., Berlin, 1932-52). |
| RB | <i>The Red Book of the Exchequer</i> , ed. H. Hall, (3 vols., RS, 1896). |
| RBD | 'The Red Book of Durham', H.H.E. Craster, EHR, XL, (1925), pp. 504-32. |
| RRAN | <i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</i> , I, ed. H.W.C. Davis; II, ed. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne. |
| RS | Rolls Series |
| <i>St Cuthbert</i> | <i>St Cuthbert. His Cult and His Community to AD 1200</i> , (1989), eds. G. Bonner, D. Rollason & C. Stancliffe. |
| SCH | <i>Studies in Church History</i> |
| SHR | <i>Scottish Historical Review</i> |
| SMO | <i>Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia</i> , ed. T. Arnold, (2 vols., [RS, 75, (1882-5)]). |
| SS | Surtees Society |
| TAASDN | <i>Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland</i> |
| TRHS | <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> |
| VCH | <i>Victoria County History</i> |
| YAS | Yorkshire Archaeological Society. |
| YAJ | Yorkshire Archaeological Journal. |

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Chapter 1.

Introduction.

At the end of 1537, Doctor Ley, Doctor Henley and Mr. Blythman, Henry VIII's Commissioners in the North of England, visited Durham in order to enforce the Suppression of the Benedictine Convent there. With a small group of officers, they entered the cathedral and made their way to the shrine of St Cuthbert in the east end of the church. They discovered a feretory, '...exalted with most curious workmanshipp of fine and costly marble all limned and guilted with gold.' The shrine '...was estimated to bee one of the most sumptuous monuments in all England, so great were the offerings and Jewells that were bestowed uppon it.' [1]

The Commissioners approached the shrine and ordered their men to set about it with crow-bars and a blacksmith's hammer. They prised the jewels away from their settings and abstracted anything of value [2]. Eventually, Doctor Ley and his companions turned their attention to the iron-bound chest which contained Cuthbert's remains. The Commissioners' lackey smashed open the chest to reveal the saint's relics and immediately cried out [3]. Doctor Henley was impatient that the remains should be thrown down but no-one dared touch the corpse as, instead of dust and bones, the coffin contained St Cuthbert '...lyinge hole vncorrupt wth his faice baire, and his beard as yt had bene a forth netts growthe' [4].

Then Doctor Ley did stepp vp to se if it weire so or not and did turne hime and speke Latten to Docter Henley yt he was lieing holl. yett Docter Henley would geve no creditt to his word, but still did crye cast downe his bones, then Docter ley maide annswere yf ye will not beleue me come vp yo' selfe & se hime, then dyd Docter Henlie step vp to hime & did handle him & dyd se yt he laid hole. then he did comaund theme to taikie hime downe & so it hapnd contrarie ther expectatiō yt not onely his bodie laie & wherwth all he was accustomed to saie mass, was freshe saife & not consumed [5].

What the Commissioners had discovered was the central miracle of the Medieval cult of St Cuthbert, that is, the incorruption of his body in death. Cuthbert's relics had lain undisturbed for 433 years since their translation into the Norman cathedral in 1104 [6]. The undecayed corpse was the most precious possession of the Benedictine Community serving the Church of Durham, for it represented a direct link to the heroic days of early Northumbrian monasticism. The cult which grew up soon after Cuthbert's death in 687 became centred on his body when it was discovered undecayed after eleven years in its tomb [7]. Miracles were performed at the site and soon Holy Island became established as one of the great pilgrimage places of the North of England [8].

In the late seventh century Cuthbert was Bishop of Lindisfarne at a time when the Church in the North of England was undergoing a period of far-reaching change. The Synod of Whitby in 664 had ensured that the English ecclesiastical provinces would follow Roman observances, forcing the Celtic monks, who had done so much to establish Christianity in the kingdom of Northumbria, to return to Scotland [9]. Although Cuthbert received a monastic education that was wholly Celtic in tenor and had demonstrated this in later life through his predilection for eremitic retreats, he became the symbol of the post-Whitby Northumbrian Church, eclipsing the founder of Lindisfarne, St Aidan. In large measure Bede's *Vita Prosaica* was responsible for claiming Cuthbert for the Roman church [10]. As a Celtic monk, Aidan was unsuitable for the changed conditions after Whitby and so it was that Lindisfarne became wholly associated with Cuthbert rather than its founder. The promotion of Cuthbert's cult may have had a great deal to do with the political disputes within the

Northumbrian church at the end of the seventh century, when Wilfrid was attempting to establish his position in the North of England [11].

From its inception in 635, the monastery of Lindisfarne was endowed by members of the Northumbrian royal and, later, comital dynasties with estates of considerable extent [12]. Whilst these benefactors succumbed to the pressures of political conflict, the Bishops of Lindisfarne endured, retaining control of the agglomeration of donated lands which became known as the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. This land brought power and tempted some of the Bishops to embroil themselves in secular affairs. Despite some unfortunate episodes, the Church of Lindisfarne prospered and the Patrimony grew, until, by the eleventh century, the Community of St Cuthbert was the greatest landowner in the North-East of England, rivalled only by the earls of Northumbria.

Throughout its pre-Conquest history, the Church of St Cuthbert was courted by secular rulers who wished to obtain and retain political control in the region. Even the Scandinavian invaders of the ninth century were prepared to acknowledge the rights and privileges of the Community in return for its support [13]. Later, the royal House of Wessex established links with St Cuthbert as it extended its influence into the region [14]. The Danish successors to Æthelred II, also considered it prudent to maintain the ties established by their West Saxon predecessors. A visit to the shrine of St Cuthbert became a *sine qua non* for any expedition to the North-East of England or Scotland [15]. Whenever pilgrims visited the shrine of St Cuthbert, they made donations which increased the wealth of the Church. In the case of royal visitors these pious donations were invariably grants of land and confirmations of the privileges of the Church of St Cuthbert. The most

celebrated collection of gifts made at Cuthbert's shrine was that of Æthelstan who, as well as giving numerous precious ornaments and liturgical items, also presented the estate of South Wearmouth to the saint [16]. Later, William I presented Cuthbert with a mark of gold and a valuable pallium, in addition to a general confirmation of the Church's possessions [17].

The power of Cuthbert's cult drew pilgrims to his shrine from all over Anglo-Saxon England and further afield. In the twelfth century Reginald of Durham recorded that a Norwegian youth was drawn to Durham in search of a cure [18]. Reginald's *Libellus* also recorded that members of the monastery of Durham undertook fund-raising tours with relics of the saint, presumably reaching outlying areas whose inhabitants would not normally expect to visit Durham [19]. The success of the cult may be gauged from the wide geographical spread of churches dedicated to Cuthbert, reaching into Scotland and the south-west of England [20].

The growth of the power and influence of the Community of St Cuthbert was all the more remarkable because the other monastic foundations of early Medieval Northumbria had disappeared by the eleventh century. For example, Bede's house at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth was attacked in 794, burnt and pillaged in circa 867 and finally destroyed in 973 [21]. In the seventh century Lindisfarne was the mother church of a network of religious houses which stretched northwards into Lothian, west into Cumbria and south into Yorkshire [22]. Gradually each of the monastic establishments which had once filled the region were destroyed or abandoned and the kingdom of Northumbria was reduced to a monastic desert [23].

The Community had also migrated at least three times between the end of the seventh and the late tenth centuries, moving from Lindisfarne to Norham-on-Tweed, thence to Chester-le-Street and, finally, on to Durham. It has often been suggested that this peripatetic quality of the Church of St Cuthbert was occasioned by the threats posed by the Scandinavian attacks which began with the often cited Viking raid on Lindisfarne in 793 [24]. The Community remained on Holy Island until 875 when the seven years' 'wanderings' began. In the sources the monks are depicted as dispossessed refugees trudging from place to place in search of sanctuary. This image sits ill with the fact that, at the end of this period in the wilderness, the Community of St Cuthbert was still in possession of its estates.

There may, however, be a more mundane reason for the migrations as it is possible that the Community thought it prudent to establish itself in the heart of the Patrimony. The estates of the Church of St Cuthbert were augmented during the period of Scandinavian activity by the acquisition of the landed possessions of those monasteries which had fallen into disuse. The centre of Cuthbert's interests moved south with the addition of the land between the Rivers Tyne and Tees in the ninth century and this brought about a move to the former Roman camp of Chester-le-Street, followed, a little over a century later, by the establishment of the Community at Durham in 995 [25]. The historical circumstances of these relocations are often obscured in the sources which explain the decisions to establish the Community at a certain place as being due to the direct intervention of St Cuthbert. It is likely, however, that political considerations may also have been

involved as, for example, in the case of the move to Durham with which the earl of Northumbria was closely associated [26].

St Cuthbert became the 'undying landlord' of a significant part of the North-East of England. As the cult developed it began to reflect the proprietorial concerns of the Community and admonitory stories were recorded telling of Cuthbert's retribution on those who violated the privileges and possessions of his church [27]. The inhabitants of the Patrimony became the *Haliwerfolc*, the 'Holy Man's people' and, by extension, *Haliwerfolc* became a geographical area of Anglian Northumbria [28].

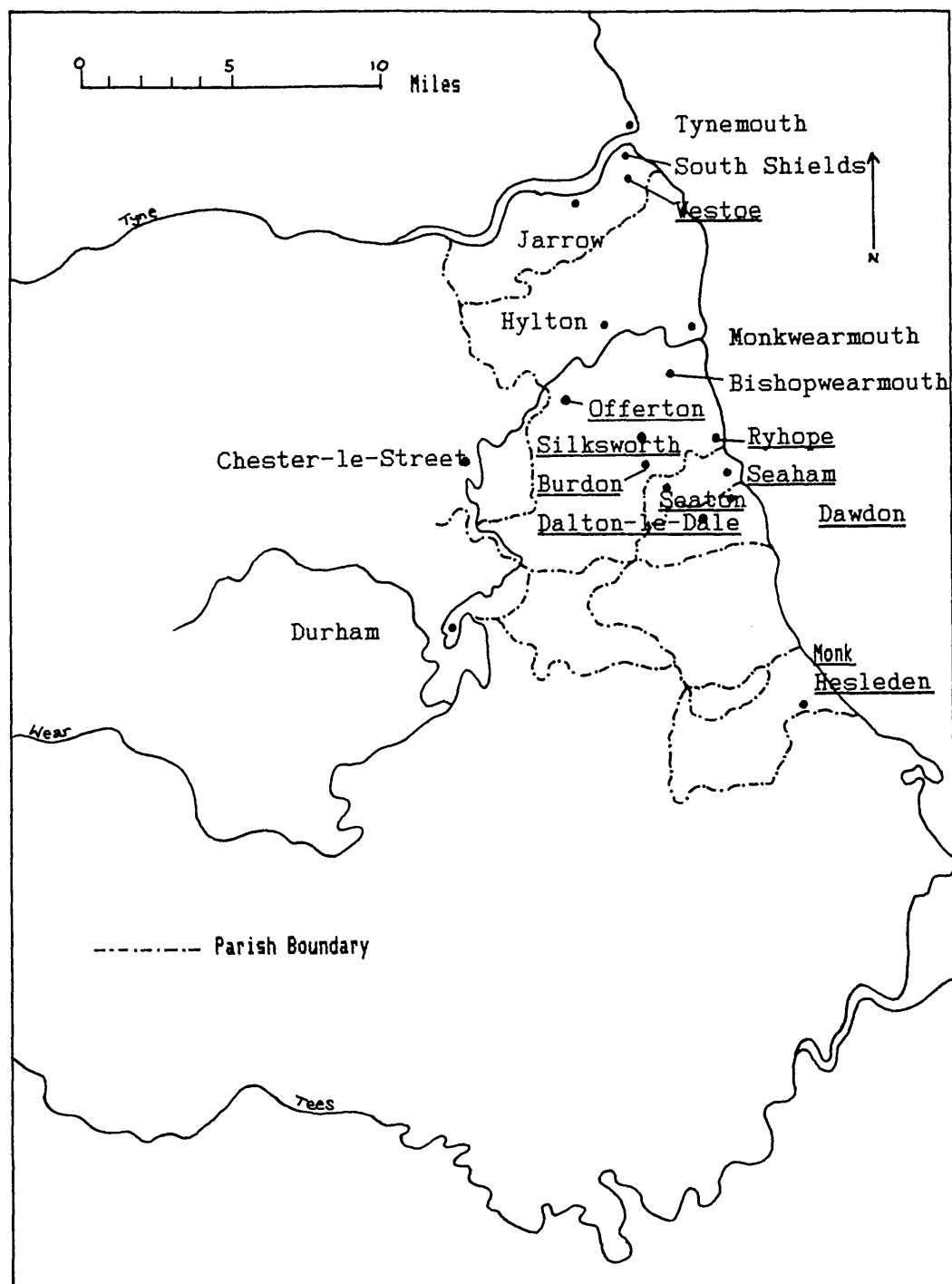
The region above the River Tees had been relatively sparsely settled by the Scandinavians during the ninth and tenth centuries [29] and the ancient Anglian land divisions and social organisation survived into the post-Conquest period. A considerable amount of work has been done on these Northumbrian survivals, especially the 'shire' and the *dreng* [30]. The late twelfth-century survey of the Bishop of Durham's estates known as *Baldon Book* makes reference to certain groups of settlements owing services to a central *aula* or lord's hall [31]. These 'multiple estates' are called 'shires'; although they are not analogous with the land divisions of that name in the rest of Medieval England they do share common features with elements of the Welsh commotes. Professor Barrow has reconstructed the 'shires' of Coldingham and Berwick in Lothian, reinforcing the idea that they were a phenomenon associated with ancient settlement [32]. Subsequent landholding arrangements tended to truncate these 'shires' so that, by the post-Conquest period only parts of the estates may be recognised. These shires were composed of a *vill cum suis appendiciis*, or subordinate

settlements [33]. For example, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* describes King Athelstan's gift of the vill of South Wearmouth, ...*cum suis appendiciis, id est Westun, Uffertun, Sycleswurthe, duas Reofhoppas, Byrdene, Seham, Setun, Daltun, Daldene, Heseldene* [34]. By the time of *Boldon Book* the subordinate settlements of the South Wearmouth estate had been distributed among the Bishop of Durham's feudal tenants, thus obscuring the earlier estate's structure.

Closely associated with these Northumbrian 'shires' were the drengs. Drengs were members of a social stratum essential for the efficient operation of an estate [35]. Drengage involved the performance of some duties for the lord but was, by no means, a servile tenure. Drengs were important local figures, addressed in the writs of the Bishop of Durham and held in respect by their fellow inhabitants of the 'shire' [36]. Nevertheless, they were obliged to perform services more usually associated with unfree tenure, such as carting the lord's wine or looking after his hounds during the hunt [37].

The Patrimony of St Cuthbert in the late eleventh century was composed, therefore, of estates whose structure and social organisation had altered little during the Anglo-Saxon period. This continuity gave the region a sense of separateness and has led historians to look for political manifestations of this phenomenon. These historians have characterised the government of the North of England as a problem to be dealt with by the early Medieval kings of England. Movements of Northumbrian separatism have been identified, as have the measures employed by government at the centre to counteract these centrifugal forces [38].

Fig. 1.1. The Vill of South Wearmouth *cum suis appendiciis*.



Sources; HSC, s. 26, p. 211; RBD, p. 525. Athelstan granted, ... *Suth Wermutha... cum suis appendiciis, id est Ufferton, Westou, Selceswurtha, duas Refhopas, Birdene, Seaham, Seatun, Daltun, Daldene, Hesildene...* [Offerton, Westoe, Silksworth, Ryhope, Burdon, Seaham, Seaton, Dalton-le-Dale, Dawdon and Monk Hesleden].

At the centre of the early medieval history of this region is the Church of St Cuthbert. This is understandable for the all the main sources of information for the North-East of England in this period were produced by members of the Community of St Cuthbert. The concerns of the Community are expressed in the nature of the surviving historiographical tradition at Durham. The characteristic record was the charter-chronicle which carefully noted the donations of land and privileges to the saint, interspersed with historical passages relating to Cuthbert and his Church [39]. For this reason it is impossible to ignore the presence of the saint in the affairs of this region. Although this concentration of evidence from one source tends to distort the account of the past, emphasising the rôle of the Community, the considerable resources available to the Church of St Cuthbert suggest that it did play a central part in the development of the North-East of England.

Of the sources produced by the members of the Community of St Cuthbert, Symeon of Durham's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ* has attained a predominant position [40]. Symeon was a member of the Benedictine Convent introduced to Durham in 1083 by Bishop William of St Calais, replacing the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* which had served the saint's shrine for nearly four hundred years. Symeon's account was written at the beginning of the twelfth century and, after giving a carefully crafted account of the pre-Conquest history of the Church of Durham, he describes in detail the impact of the arrival of the Normans in the North-East of England. The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ* concluded in 1096 with the death of William of St Calais but was continued by an anonymous author until the election of Bishop Hugh du Puiset in 1153

[41]. Symeon's account has been widely accepted despite the fact that he was seeking to present a particular version of the past. It is important, therefore, to re-examine his *Historia* and exclude, as far as is possible, any artifice.

The period, 1070-1153, was one of considerable upheaval in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert as the Norman regime attempted to establish itself. To the guardians of the shrine of St Cuthbert the Normans, who arrived in Durham in the 1070s, were but the latest in a series of interlopers and there was no reason to suppose that some form of *modus vivendi* could not be established. The aim of the Community of St Cuthbert was to retain its landed estates and thereby preserve its political influence in the region. William I sought to establish his authority over the kingdom of England which he had claimed as rightful successor to Edward the Confessor. Although the North-East of England was remote from the centre of Norman government, the Conqueror considered the region to be part of his realm and made provision for its administration. After 1071 the episcopal throne of Durham was filled by appointees of the Norman kings. Among these Bishops were three formidable characters who were closely associated with the *curia regis*. William of St Calais, Rannulf Flambard and Geoffrey-Rufus were men who each had experience of royal government.

Bishop William has been identified as the administrator responsible for implementing the *Domesday Survey* in 1086 [42]. Rannulf Flambard has gained a reputation as the *factotum* of Norman government, charged, *inter alia*, with responsibility for William Rufus' thorough exploitation of ecclesiastical vacancies, and credited with the wholesale introduction of feudalism into England [43]. Geoffrey-Rufus served as Chancellor to

Henry I before succeeding Flambard after a five year vacancy [44]. The bishopric of Durham was seen, therefore, as a suitable reward for some of the most prominent ministers of the crown. What effect did the policies of these men have upon the Community of St Cuthbert ?

For Symeon the most important event in his history of the Church of St Cuthbert was the foundation of the Benedictine monastery at Durham in 1083 [45]. At a stroke the *Congregatio* was replaced by Benedictine monks drawn from earlier refoundations at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, thereby breaking the continuity in the history of the Community which had served St Cuthbert for four centuries. Despite the prominent position held by the Church of Durham within the society of the region, there was, according to Symeon no violent reaction attendant on the demise of the *Congregatio*. It is difficult to believe that an ecclesiastical corporation which had survived the political traumas associated with the destruction of the kingdom of Northumbria and the Scandinavian settlement, would surrender control of St Cuthbert's relics so completely.

The members of the Benedictine Convent became the heirs to the estates of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert and had to reach an accommodation with their diocesan as to their position within the bishopric. Bishop William established a monastic cathedral chapter, installing himself as both Bishop and Abbot [46]. The arrangement was satisfactory while the Bishop himself was a monk but it had the potential for dissension when men in secular orders, such as Rannulf Flambard or Geoffrey Rufus attained the bishopric.

Accompanying these ecclesiastical modifications in the see of St Cuthbert during the period 1070-1153, was a change in the social

structure of the region. By the middle of the twelfth century the Bishops of Durham were addressing their *acta* to the 'barons of St Cuthbert'. Several baronial families with names suggesting French origins began to appear in the chronicles of the period. Was there a wholesale revolution in the tenurial structure of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, or had elements of the distinctive Northumbrian social hierarchy survived the arrival of the Normans ?

The later Medieval Bishops of Durham gained a reputation as the defenders of the North-East of England against the Scots [47]. During the Anglo-Saxon period the inhabitants of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert suffered a series of attacks from their neighbours to the north. However, in 1054, the Scots king was put in possession of his throne by an army headed by Siward, Edward the Confessor's earl of Northumbria [48]. Later, in 1072, William I forced Malcolm III to become his vassal [49]. What rôle did the Church of St Cuthbert play in Anglo-Scottish relations between 1054 and 1153, and can the beginnings of the Bishop's reputation as a staunch opponent of the Scots also be assigned to this period ?

The Prince-Bishops of Medieval Durham are thought to have acted *quasi rex* within their estates [50]. The Palatine status of the successors to St Cuthbert has become a by-word for the ultimate goal of the medieval immunist and the Patrimony of St Cuthbert seems, at times, to have been outwith the normal governmental machinery of the kingdom of England [51]. Is it possible to support the theory, advanced by some historians, that these extensive privileges can be traced to the immediate post-Conquest period ?

During the twelfth century, the city of Durham itself was transformed by the Norman Bishops. The plateau on the peninsula of Durham was levelled and the Romanesque cathedral and castle took their predominant positions. According to the sources Durham was an overcrowded city, prone to devastating fires which could only be effectively controlled by exhibiting the relics of St Cuthbert to the flames [52]. Projecting bay windows were a source of injury to the unwary visitor and in times of war conditions within the city walls soon deteriorated into squalor [53]. Urban development took place within the Patrimony and, by the end of the twelfth century five boroughs had received their charters. Durham itself was the site of St Cuthbert's fair and those making their way to it were granted St Cuthbert's Peace until they had returned home [54]. In the Patrimony at large, this period has been seen as one of a significant modification in the morphology of the Northumbrian village [55].

The theme of this study is, then, the development of the Church of St Cuthbert during a period of considerable change. The Normans found an ecclesiastical corporation which had enjoyed considerable privileges under the Anglo-Saxon rulers of Northumbria. The source of this privileged position was the formidable strength of the cult of St Cuthbert which had not only survived since the late seventh century, but had grown in influence. It is the intention here to examine how the Norman regime established itself in the bishopric of Durham in the face of such powerful local interests.

Endnotes.

1. *The Rites of Durham being a Description or Brief Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs belonging or being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression, written 1593.* ed. J.T. Fowler, (SS, 107, [1902]), p. 102.
2. One of the precious ornaments was an emerald valued, together with five rings and silver chains, at £3, 336 13s 4d in 1401, '...of value sufficient to redeme a prince', (*Rites of Durham*, pp. 102, 284).
3. The shock of discovering that St Cuthbert's body was undecayed was compounded by the fact that, in smashing open the coffin, the Commissioner's officer believed that he had broken the saint's leg, '...he was verie sorie for it & did crye alas I have broken one of his legges', [*Rites of Durham*, p.102]. James Raine pointed out that during his investigation of Cuthbert's coffin, in 1827, the bones which he found were whole and showed no signs of the injury described, (Raine, *St Cuthbert*, p. 213).
4. *Rites of Durham*, p. 102.
5. *Rites of Durham*, pp. 102-3.
6. The 1104 translation was described by an anonymous monk soon after the event, (*Capitula de Miraculis et Translationibus sancti Cuthberti*, Cap. VII, in SMO, I, pp. 247-61), and by Reginald of Durham, writing in the 1170s, (*Libellus*, (SS, 1, 1835), ed. J. Raine, caps. XL-XLIII, pp. 84-90).
7. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, pp. 131, 291.
8. There is the suggestion that Cuthbert was already being venerated before the discovery of his incorrupt body, as the reason given for the translation of his relics in 698, to a position above the floor, was so that '...they might be worthily venerated', (Colgrave, *Two Lives*, p. 293).
9. For a survey of the church in the North of England at this period see, A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Northumbrian Monasticism', in *Bede; His Life, Times and Writings; Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death*, [Oxford, 1935], pp. 60-101.
10. *Vita sancti Cuthberti prosaica auctore Beda*, in Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, pp. 141-307.
11. See A. Thacker, 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert', in eds. G. Bonner et al. *St Cuthbert*, pp. 103-22.
12. The development of these estates is traced in chapter 2 below.

13. See, for example, the support given to Guthred by the Community of St Cuthbert in 883, (*Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, s. 13, in SMO, I, p. 203).
14. Alfred, Athelstan and Edmund were all associated with the Community of St Cuthbert. Athelstan's gifts to the saint during his visit to Chester-le-Street in 934 are enumerated in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, s. 26, [SMO, I, p. 211].
15. Cnut made a barefoot pilgrimage from Garmondsway to Cuthbert's shrine at Durham in around 1031, (*Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, s. 32, in SMO, I, p. 213).
16. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, s. 26, in SMO, p. 211.
17. Craster, RBD, p. 528.
18. Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 248-54. The parents of the Norwegian youth could not decide which of the three great English shrines to take their son to. Lots were drawn three times and Cuthbert's name came out ahead of those of Becket and St Edmund. The youth was cured in 1172.
19. For example, see Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 109-111.
20. A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Churches dedicated to St Cuthbert', in TAASDN, (1936), pp. 151ff.
21. The church of St Paul at Jarrow was also burnt down by William I's troops in 1069, (HR, II, p. 189).
22. See Craster, 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', EHR, 69, [1954], p. 179.
23. L.G.D. Baker, 'The Desert in the North', NH, V, [1970], pp. 1-11.
24. ASC, D (E), sa. 793.
25. See D. Rollason, 'The Wanderings of St Cuthbert', in ed. D. Rollason, *Cuthbert, Saint and Patron*.
26. HDE, I, pp. 80-81.
27. See, for example, the fate of the Dane, Onalafbal, in HDE, I, pp. 73-4.
28. The *Haliwerfolc* were particularly associated with the land between the rivers Tyne and Tees. See G.T. Lapsley, *The County Palatine of Durham; A Study in Constitutional History*, pp. 22-24. According to the fourteenth-century historian of Durham, Robert de Graystones, the *Haliwerfolc* '*... terras suas tenere ad defensionem corporis sancti Cuthberti*', (HDST, ed. J. Raine, [SS, 9, (1839)], p. 76).

29. C.D. Morris, 'Northumbria and the Viking Settlement; the evidence for Landholding', AA, 5th series, (1977), pp. 98-100.
30. See particularly, J.E.A. Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', EHR, (1926), pp. 1-42; G.R. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. P.H. Sawyer, (London, 1979), pp. 9-34; G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 7-68.
31. *Boldon Book*, ed. D. Austin, (1982). Cf. G.T. Lapsley's 'Introduction to Boldon Book' in VCH, Durham, I, pp. 249-341.
32. Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 29-33.
33. As Craster pointed out, the gloss to an Old English charter of 821 equates the Latin, *appendicia* with the Anglo-Saxon, *geburatunas* or subordinate settlements. The phrase *cum suis appendiciis* thus implies that the *villa* cited in grants of estates was the administrative centre and the *appendicia* were its dependent hamlets. (Craster, 'Patrimony', pp. 191-92.
34. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, s. 26, SMO, I, p. 211.
35. Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 15-16.
36. The author of the *Historia Regum* speaks of a *quidam Dregno* who supervised the translation of the body of Bishop Alchmund of Hexham. This man obviously held a position of some standing in the local community as ...*eum omnes vicini sui in magno honore habebant*, (HR, II, pp. 47-50.
37. See, for example, the duties of the dreng of Hutton Henry, in BB, p. 52, *Drengus pascit canem et equum et quadrigat unum tonellum vini et lapidem molendini apud Dunelm' et vadit in magna Caza cum ii leporariis et v cordis et sequitur placitum et vadit in legationibus*.
38. D. Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in *The Anglo-Saxons; Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes, (London, 1959), pp. 70-88. B. Wilkinson, 'Northumbrian Separatism in 1065-66', BJRL, 23, (1939), pp. 504-26.
39. For a general survey of the historical sources at Durham, see H.S. Offler, *Medieval Historians of Durham*, (Durham, 1958).
40. *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, in ed. T. Arnold, SMO, vol. I.
41. *Continuatio Prima*, in SMO, I, pp. 135-60.
42. P. Chaplais, 'William of St Calais and the Domesday Survey', in ed. J.C. Holt, *Domesday Studies*, pp. 65-77.
43. Rannulf Flambard's career has been examined by R.W. Southern, 'Rannulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration', TRHS, (1933),

[revised for *Medieval Humanism and other Studies*, (1970)]; and by H.S. Offler, 'Rannulf Flambard as Bishop of Durham, 1099-1128', *DUJ*, (1971).

44. See, HDE, *Continuatio Prima*, I, pp. 141-43.

45. HDE, I, *Liber*, IV, caps. i-iii, pp. 119-24.

46. HDE, I, pp. 122-23.

47. C.M. Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, (Oxford, 1957), pp. 66-67, 75-76, 129.

48. ASC, C,D, sa. 1054.

49. ASC, D, sa. 1072.

50. G.T. Lapsley, [*The County Palatine of Durham*, p. 42], saw the episcopate of '...the sumptuous Anthony Bek (1284-1311) as the zenith of the development of Palatine sovereignty'.

51. See W. Page, 'Some remarks on the Northumbrian Palatinates and Regalities', *Archæologia*, 51, (1888), pp. 143-55.

52. Symeon describes the fire which threatened the Anglo-Saxon minster in 1069 after the Northumbrians had attacked and killed William I's earl, Robert Cumin and his men. The people of Durham prayed to St Cuthbert and a wind arose which beat the flames away from the church, (HDE, I, pp. 99-100). Later in the twelfth century, Reginald of Durham remarked that the city was especially prone to the ravages of fire, (*Libellus*, pp. 82-83).

53. Cf. Reginald's description of the narrow streets of Durham, [*Libellus*, pp. 266-68]; and *Capitula de Miraculis et Translationibus sancti Cuthberti*, cap. X, in SMO, II, pp. 338-41, which portrays the conditions inside Durham during the invasion of Malcolm III in 1091.

54. In the twelfth-century borough charters were given to Gateshead, Darlington, Durham, Norham and Wearmouth, (see Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 214). For the protection extended to those attending the annual fair at Durham, see H.H.E. Craster, 'The Peace of St Cuthbert', *JEH*, 8, (1957), pp. 93-95.

55. B.K. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village*, (1987).

Cap. 2. ...*de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*... The Origins and development of the Church of St Cuthbert from the seventh century until the eve of the Norman Conquest.

The origins of the church of St Cuthbert at Durham are to be found in the establishment of a monastic community on Lindisfarne, in 635, by King Oswald of the Northumbrians. Oswald looked to the Celtic foundation on Iona for assistance in fulfilling his aim of restoring Christianity to his kingdom after the depredations of the pagan kings, Penda and Cadwalla, had been brought to an end by the Northumbrian victory at *Hefenfelth*. (1) After the failure of the first missionary despatched from Iona, (2) the task fell to Aidan ... 'a man of outstanding gentleness, holiness and moderation.' (3) Bede provides us with descriptions of the king's vigorous support for the mission which included translating the bishop's sermons for his people. (4)

From its beginning, then, the church of Lindisfarne was closely associated with the very epicentre of power in Northumbria, and this position was to influence the evolution of its own wealth and prestige. By the eleventh century the church of St Cuthbert, as it had by then become known, was one of the three most influential institutions in Northumbria, the others being, the earldom of Northumbria and the archiepiscopal see of York. (5)

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of the church of St Cuthbert in the eleventh century was not that it had attained a position of such influence, but that it had survived into the eleventh century at all. The period from the late seventh to the early twelfth century saw the fortunes of the Church in Northumbria ebb and flow dramatically. Political disruption in the earlier centuries precipitated by rivalry between the ruling dynasties of Bernicia and Deira, together with the devastation wrought by the incursions of successive waves of

Scandinavian invaders, brought about the virtual extinction of organised religion in the region to the north of the Humber. There is evidence of a substantial monastic plantation in the north in the seventh and eighth centuries yet, by the tenth century, the majority of these institutions, including such famous houses as Bede's monastery at Jarrow, had perished.

The church of Lindisfarne continued to exist because it managed to deal with each of the crises which struck Northumbria in this period. Its survival depended upon its power and prestige, and the ability of its leaders to manoeuvre effectively amid the changing configurations of Northumbrian politics. Ultimately, it was the strength of the cult of St Cuthbert which was the lynchpin of the church's success. Devotion to the saint brought grants of substantial landed estates and large sums of movable wealth. In its turn the accumulation of great wealth, especially in the land, provided the bishops of the Church of St Cuthbert with a power base from which to respond to the changing circumstance in the North. The relationship between the strength of Cuthbert's cult and the wealth of his Church became cyclical, the one feeding and promoting the other. It is with two of these three elements that this chapter is concerned. Whilst the development of the cult of St Cuthbert is examined elsewhere, here it is intended that an examination should be made of the evolution of the landed estates of the Church and of its role in Northumbrian politics from the late seventh to the mid-eleventh century. It was through the possession of great landed wealth that the bishops of the Church of St Cuthbert were able to play more than a merely passive role in Northumbrian affairs. Similarly, the successful diagnosis of the realities of the political situation, and the implementation of

appropriate action, usually brought about an increase in landed wealth, or, at least, prevented a diminution of it. Whether it was in its dealings with the early Northumbrian kings, the Scandinavian rulers of York, or the comital house of Bamburgh, the leaders of the Church of St Cuthbert had something tangible to bargain with, rather than mere promises of intercession with God or threats of spiritual anathema.

Aidan's church was established on Lindisfarne, an island off the Northumbrian coast joined at low tide to the mainland by a sandy causeway. There are two possible explanations as to why this site was chosen for the Bernician see. It may be, as Bede says, that Aidan himself requested the island, as it reminded him of his previous insular home of Iona. (6) Whilst the predilection of the Celtic monk for out-of-the way places should not be dismissed, it is more likely, however, that the site was chosen for its proximity to the Bernician royal stronghold of Bamburgh and its harbour. (7) Whenever Aidan required ascetic isolation, he retired to Farne island which later became the site of Cuthbert's own retreat.

Unfortunately, unlike the sources for the establishment of Benedict Biscop's houses at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth or Wilfrid's monasteries, none of those for the early history of the Church of St Cuthbert state what provision Oswald made for the endowment of the monastery on Lindisfarne. Bede merely states that, 'on Aidan's arrival, the king appointed the island of Lindisfarne to be his see at his own request.'

(8)

Other sources are no more forthcoming and opinions have varied on the extent of Lindisfarne's earliest endowment. Craster suggested that Oswald granted Holy Island, the Farnes and Islandshire. (9) Morris added

the estates which later formed Norhamshire. (10) The silence of the sources should not be taken to indicate that there was no early grant. It seems likely that the island upon which the monastery was sited would be made over to the church, together with the eremetical retreat of the Farnes. Craster's suggestion that Islandshire was added is speculative but not unreasonable. The argument for the inclusion of Norhamshire in this earliest grant is, however, less secure.

There are passages in the available sources which may describe the boundaries of the earliest estates of Lindisfarne. The first of these is a description of the *Lindisfarnensis terrae terminus* to be found in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and the second is a brief list of the possessions of the Church inserted into the *Historia Regum's* annal for 854. (11) The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* was compiled in the mid-tenth century and added to in the eleventh. It is unreliable in its details of the earliest grants made to the church, although that in itself does not make the information it provides wholly dubious. The passage in the *Historia Regum* is derived largely from the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* but adds certain other locations from another, unknown source. The lands described in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* comprised two blocks of territory, one in Northumberland and one beyond the Tweed in Lothian. The more southerly of the estates stretched from the Tweed to Warenmouth, thence to the source of the Warenburn and on to the Breamish and the Till. (12) In Lothian there were two areas, one centred on the estates of St Balthere's monastery at Tynningham in East Lothian, and the other comprising almost all of the modern Berwickshire except the lands belonging to the monastery of Coldingham. (13) To this description the entry in the *Historia Regum* adds, *Mailros, et Tigbrethingham, et*

Eoriercorn ad occidentalem partem, Edwinesburch, et Pefferham, et Aldham, et Tinningaham, et Coldingaham, et Tillemuthe, et Norham. (14)

Many of the sites on this list were those of early Anglian monasteries, (15) and this has prompted the suggestion that this was a description of an early monastic confederation, which recognised the primacy of Lindisfarne and whose lands the mother church laid claim to after the later destruction of her dependencies.

Although it is known that Bernician power extended to the Forth at this period, it seems unlikely that the lands in Lothian would have been part of the earliest grant to Lindisfarne. Lands close to the original monastic foundation would be acquired first and, only after the house had become established, would its organisation be sufficiently strong to allow it to undertake the administration of more remote estates.

St Balthere, or Baldred, was an eighth-century hermit who died in 756 and the description of Tynningham's lands as those of the monastery of St Balthere obviously presents a chronological problem as part of an endowment supposedly originating in 635. (16) Other sections of the early part of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* seem equally incongruous and may represent the later author's attempt to attach the acquisition of estates claimed by the Church of St Cuthbert to significant episodes in that saint's life. In the case of the lands of Tynningham, the author of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* was writing at a time when that monastery was wholly associated with the name of Balthere and, therefore, unconsciously created this chronological ambiguity.

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* is a hybrid source, combining descriptions of St Cuthbert's life with detailed notices of benefactions to his church and a number of *miracula*. Occasionally the boundaries

between these different elements are blurred. So strong was the influence of the cult of St Cuthbert upon later writers, that the mid-tenth century author of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* sought to involve his patron in all notices concerning the early history of the church of Lindisfarne. The cult of Aidan was eclipsed by the later efflorescence of that of his successor Cuthbert. The grants recorded in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* are made to Cuthbert personally rather than to the church of which he was bishop. It was usual practice for grants to ecclesiastical foundations in the medieval period to be addressed to the saint to whom the church was dedicated. However, for a historian of the Church of St Cuthbert writing in the tenth century literary convention had an added significance.

The physical presence of St Cuthbert, in the form of his incorrupt remains, was the one constant in the history of the church which had begun on Lindisfarne. The church had migrated twice by the tenth century, first to Norham and then to Chester-le-Street. For those seeking to make claims to certain estates, possession of St Cuthbert's body represented their title to those estates. Hence it was that the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* assigned the earliest grants to the church of Lindisfarne to St Cuthbert himself. It is this eagerness to advance a claim to land which led the author of this tract to construct some unlikely passages.

For example, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* describes the vision of Aidan's ascent into heaven which Cuthbert experienced in 651, the year of Aidan's death, and which prompted him to take up the monastic life at Melrose. (17) On hearing of the incident, King Oswin (18) and his nobles granted Cuthbert 'the land which lay next to the river

Bowmont' and, on the death of Abbot Boisil, he was to acquire the monastery of Melrose itself. (19) Here, then, Cuthbert's entry into the monastery of Melrose affords the occasion for a grant to the saint of that monastery and the adjacent lands. (20) A claim to land advanced in the tenth century was supported by historical tradition emanating, it was claimed, from the seventh and linked directly to the most powerful totem of that institution. Similar considerations seem to have influenced the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto's* account of the gifts of King Egfrith.

According to the author of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* the estates of the church of Lindisfarne were greatly increased during the reign of Egfrith. In conjunction with Theodore, archbishop of York, Egfrith is said to have granted St Cuthbert Carlisle, land in York, Crayke in Yorkshire, Carham-on-Tweed and two properties in the North-west, Cartmel and *Suth-gedluit*. (21) The expansion of territory may have been connected with the decision of Archbishop Theodore, in 678, to divide up the Northumbrian diocese into three, creating episcopal sees at Lindisfarne (or Hexham) in Bernicia; at York in Deira and another in Lindsey, a territory newly won from Mercia.

The period preceding Cuthbert's consecration as Bishop of Lindisfarne, in 685, was a turbulent one. Wilfrid challenged for a dominant position within the Northumbrian church and the Mercian threat remained. Again, it is doubtful whether these grants were made to Cuthbert in person as he was either prior of Lindisfarne or in his retreat on Inner Farne at the time of their alleged issue. The church of St Cuthbert was associated with these properties in later centuries and these connections may have originated in this early period, but it is

unlikely that the entries in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* record the historical circumstances of the forging of these links with great accuracy.

The grant of Carlisle and other lands in the North-west may have been the result of Northumbrian expansion during Oswy's reign. The establishment of ecclesiastical control in newly acquired areas was one of the usual ways of incorporating such territories into the body of the kingdom, and the grant to St Cuthbert specifically records that he set up a nunnery at Carlisle and consecrated its abbess. There may already have been a monastic foundation at Carlisle before Cuthbert's visit and, if this is true, it would cast doubt on the accuracy of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto's* account. (22) According to the *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo* Cuthbert visited Carlisle whilst Ecgfrith was conducting a campaign against the Picts. Cuthbert is said to have forecast the disastrous outcome of Ecgfrith's battle at *Nechtansmere*. (23) Again, as the case of the grant of Melrose, an important episode in the life of St Cuthbert is made the occasion for a land grant. The church of St Cuthbert maintained a claim to spiritual jurisdiction in Carlisle until the establishment of a separate diocese there in 1133. Actual possession of estates there, and elsewhere in the North-west was probably ended by the incursions of the Scandinavian-Irish in the late ninth and early tenth century.

Crayke in Yorkshire had a long association with the see of St Cuthbert. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* records the gift of the vill and three miles of territory around it, saying that the *mansio* was to act as a residence for the bishop of Lindisfarne on his way to and from York. (24) Cuthbert was also credited with establishing a congregation

of monks there and ordaining its abbot. (25) During the seven-year 'Wanderings' of the Cuthbertine Community in the ninth century, Crayke provided a resting place for St Cuthbert's body.

Corroboration for the grant of land in York itself comes from Domesday's entry for the possessions in the city of the Bishop of Durham. According to the grant by Ecgfrith and Theodore, St Cuthbert was to have a significant portion of the city and it has been suggested that this later formed the parish of St Mary's Castlegate. (26)

Historians have also accepted that the grants to the Church of St Cuthbert in the North-West of Cartmel and *Suth-gedluit* were made at an early stage of the church's history, although not all are in agreement as to the location of the latter place. As these properties are closely associated in the record of the grant preserved in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, it seems reasonable to suppose that they were in the same geographical area. For this reason it is more likely that *Suth-gedluit* was one of the Yealands in the vicinity of Cartmel on the North Lancashire coast. (27) The grant of Cartmel is recorded in a passage which tells of Cuthbert reviving a boy presumed dead in a vill called *Exanforda*. The *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore Anonymo* says that Cuthbert was making a journey from Hexham to Carlisle and the location of Cartmel and *Suth-gedluit* near Carlisle may have been sufficient to trigger the association in the mind of the compiler of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. (28) According to the annal for 854 in the *Historia Regum*, the see of Lindisfarne had also acquired Holm Cultram by the end of the eighth century, completing the description of a considerable landed interest in Cumbria. (29)

The final benefaction attributed to king Ecgfrith in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* is that of the vill of Carham-on-Tweed. In the text it is said that the donation was made, possibly as a thank-offering, after Ecgfrith's victory against Wulfhere, son of Penda of Mercia in 678. (30) Durham's later claims to Carham were acknowledged by Queen Edith in the early twelfth century. (31)

Ecgfrith was remembered by Bede with admiration as he had provided the grant of estates which had enabled Benedict Biscop to establish Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. It is not, therefore, surprising to find Ecgfrith credited with similar gifts to Lindisfarne and St Cuthbert. It was, after all, Ecgfrith and Theodore who had persuaded a reluctant Cuthbert to accept the episcopal chair at Lindisfarne. The seventh century saw the foundation of Aidan's episcopacy at a time of Northumbrian expansion north and westwards. The Bernician see may have participated in the integration of this new territory through the establishment of monastic houses and the acquisition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. St Cuthbert's personal role was less central than the sources, particularly the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, would suggest. The description of the early endowment of the church of St Cuthbert was heavily influenced by the strength of the cult of that saint, and this led to the rather distorted view of events and to the eclipse of the reputations of Cuthbert's episcopal predecessors. There may also have been benefactors of the church of Lindisfarne other than members of the royal dynasty in the seventh century, but records of these were either lost or never made. Oral tradition is likely to remember gifts of kings but at the cost of the memory of less exalted endowments. The historical tradition describing the foundation of the see of Lindisfarne

which survived into the tenth century, and which influenced the historians of the twelfth, saw the creation and early endowment of the Bernician see as the work of the Northumbrian royal house alone. This close association was to continue with varying consequences for both sides.

Cuthbert's death in 687 and his translation eleven years later, during which the incorrupt body was discovered, occurred during a period of considerable upheaval within Northumbria. Much of the disruption was due to the return of Wilfrid and his attempts to win ecclesiastical control in the north. The promotion of Cuthbert's cult may even have been an attempt by the party opposed to Wilfrid to counter his influence over the Northumbrian church. (32) It may be this period of tension which lies behind the fact that no grant to Lindisfarne is recorded for another fifty years.

In 737, King Ceolwulf resigned his throne and entered Lindisfarne as a monk. He brought with him a great amount of treasure and gave the house the vill of Warkworth *cum suis appendiciis*. (33) Ceolwulf resigned his kingdom to escape the internal factionalism which destabilised Northumbria in the eighth century. There is evidence that Lindisfarne's close ties with the Bernician royal house embroiled it in these upheavals. In 751, Offa, son of Aldfrith, pursued by his father's successor, king Eadberht, sought refuge at Cuthbert's shrine. Eadberht imprisoned Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, presumably for harbouring the fugitive. Later Offa was dragged, starving half to death from the sanctuary. (34) The majority of the bishops of Lindisfarne are described as 'nobles' or 'of noble birth' and it is likely that they sided through ties of kin with one faction or another during the eighth-century

disruptions in Northumbria. (35) In these circumstances, it is not surprising that nothing apart from Ceolwulf's gifts was added to Lindisfarne's estates until the beginning of the ninth century. This relative downturn in the fortunes of St Cuthbert's church reached a nadir in 793 when Lindisfarne was the target of an infamous Viking attack. (36) Northumbrian resources which might have provided a source of pious benefactions were, therefore, diverted to other ends during this turbulent century.

Nothing more is recorded concerning the estates of the Church of St Cuthbert until the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* mentions a translation of Cuthbert's body from Lindisfarne to Norham during the episcopacy of Bishop Egred (830-45). The *Historia* says nothing of what prompted the move from Lindisfarne to the Tweed and Symeon, writing at the beginning of the twelfth century, seems to have deliberately omitted all mention of the move, possibly in a conscious attempt to do nothing to diminish Cuthbert's connexions with Lindisfarne. The move can be corroborated from other, independent, sources. A list of the burial places of English saints noted that Cuthbert had rested at a place called *Ubbanford*. The annal for 854 in the *Historia Regum* made it clear that *Ubbanford* was an early name for Norham. (37) The migration of the Community seems to have been a considerable undertaking as Egred dismantled Aidan's church and transported it, and the relics of Cuthbert and Ceolwulf further inland. (38) It seems likely that the move was prompted by increased Viking activity in the early decades of the ninth century. (39) The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* later says that, in 875, the Community once more left Lindisfarne with St Cuthbert's body implying, therefore, that a return journey from Norham had been made. Norham continued to be a major

monastic site after Cuthbert's departure, for, at the beginning of the tenth century, Tilred abbot of Heversham in Cumbria, fleeing Viking attacks, bought the estate of South Eden in County Durham and gave half of his purchase to Norham in order that he might become abbot there; the rest he gave to the Church of St Cuthbert. (40)

The re-establishment of the Church of St Cuthbert at Norham was accompanied by a considerable acquisition of land in the area. The region around Norham was already dominated by properties belonging to St Cuthbert, and to this block of territory Bishop Ecired himself added townships in Teviotdale. (41) The Church of St Cuthbert retained an interest in this area, and, at the end of the eleventh century, it was conducting a jurisdictional dispute with the diocese of Glasgow. (42)

The interests of the church also moved south of the Tyne into County Durham with Ecired's gifts of the church and estate of Gainford-on-Tees, the villas of Cliffe and Wycliffe 'beyond the Tees' and the estate of Billingham-in-Hartness. (43) In a rather confused entry, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* makes the following statement;

Priusquam Scaldingi venirent in Angliam terram dederunt Ceolwulfus rex et episcopus Eadred [sic] sancto Cuthberto quatuor villas, scilicet Wudacestreet Ecgwulfincham, et Hwitincham, et Eadwulfincham, et Ecgwulfincham, et ecclesias harum villarum consecravit idem episcopus. (44)

A joint grant by Ceolwulf and Ecired is a chronological impossibility as the former resigned his throne in 737 and Bishop Ecired held the see of Lindisfarne from 830-45. It is possible that two separate elements in the history of the donation of these estates to the Church of St Cuthbert have been conflated. Ceolwulf may have made the original grant

of these vills, possibly at the same time as his other endowment, then, a century later Bishop Egred reconsecrated the churches. Alternatively, the estates, granted by Ceolwulf, may have been lost to St Cuthbert during the internal disorders in Northumbria in the eighth century. Egred might, therefore, have been restoring lands once held by Lindisfarne.

Thus, by the middle of the ninth century, the Church of St Cuthbert had acquired a considerable endowment with its main estates lying either side of the Tweed, and outliers in Lothian to the north, in Cumbria to the west, and in County Durham to the south. The sources, particularly the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* give the impression of a steadily growing patrimony created, in the main, by the pious gifts of the Northumbrian kings and one especially acquisitive Bishop of Lindisfarne. As has been pointed out the accuracy of this record may be suspect in its historical details but at least it does provide an expression of tenth-century tradition concerning the origins of the see of St Cuthbert.

The first notable reverse in the fortunes of the Church of St Cuthbert occurred as the result of a civil war in Northumbria. After almost fourteen years as king, Osberht was deposed and replaced, in 862, by AElla. During their struggle for the crown each protagonist appropriated estates from the Church of St Cuthbert, presumably in order to finance their war efforts. Osberht took back the vills of Warkworth and Tillmouth, whilst AElla assumed control of Billingham, Cliff and Wycliffe, and Crayke. The grouping of these estates suggests that Osberht's support lay in the Bernician half of Northumbria whilst AElla seems to have taken control in the province of Deira.(45) Both

despoilers of St Cuthbert's estates failed to profit from their depredations as they fell victim at the Scandinavian annexation of York in 867. Their defeat and deaths were seen by the author of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and his successors as divine retribution for the mistreatment of St Cuthbert's patrimony. (46) Although the Church of St Cuthbert had been delivered from the rapacity of these Northumbrian kings, it faced a potentially more serious threat from the Scandinavians who had been the victors at York, the very force which had been the instrument of God's punishment.

The Scandinavian army which defeated Osberht and AElfa posed a very different problem to the raiding parties which had harried Northumbria hitherto. This second wave of Vikings had decided to annex and settle large areas of East Anglia and Northumbria. The Danish leader, Halfdan, attacked the property of St Cuthbert by making a raid along the Tyne. (47) He was forced to withdraw because, according to the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* he was struck down by God and St Cuthbert for his impiety. The essential feature of this new wave of Viking activity was that the Northumbrians were going to be forced to accommodate a substantial and permanent influx of Scandinavians.

During this period many of the religious corporations of Northumbria disappeared, their churches devastated and their communities decimated or forced into flight. It is surprising, therefore, to discover that, not only did St Cuthbert's church survive, but it actually increased its landed estates in the first decades of Scandinavian rule. Significantly, other monasteries which seem to have survived the onslaught, namely Norham and Crayke, had strong

associations with St Cuthbert and may have benefited from the success with which the Bishop and Community dealt with the Viking threat.

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* claims that St Cuthbert appeared in a dream to Abbot Eadred of Carlisle and ordered him to go to the Danish army with a certain boy, Guthred, son of Hardecnut, whose freedom from slavery he was to purchase from a widow living in the vill of Whittingham in Northumberland. Eadred was to inform the Danes that St Cuthbert wished them to obey his orders and make Guthred their king. Guthred was then to grant Cuthbert's church '...all the land between the Tyne and the Wear' together with rights of Sanctuary. (48) After these instructions were obeyed, Bishop Eardulf of Lindisfarne brought Cuthbert's body to an appointed place, *Oswingedune*, and upon these relics Guthred and his army swore 'peace and loyalty' to the saint. (49)

The Danish king, Guthred, assumed control of York in 883, on the death of Halfdan, according to the annals preserved in the *Historia Regum*. (50) The annal adds that whilst Guthred was to rule the Danes, a certain nobleman, Egbert, was to rule over the 'Northumbrians'. Again, according to these annals, in 867, after Halfdan's victory over Osberht and AElla, another Egbert was set up as tributary king of the region of Northumbria north of the Tyne. (51) It was presumably intended that the Tyne should mark the boundary between English Northumbria and the Scandinavian kingdom of York. Between these two spheres of influence lay the territory assigned to St Cuthbert's church by Guthred's grant. Clearly, according to the sources, the role played by the church of Lindisfarne was central to the political settlement which took place in Northumbria after Halfdan's death.

A number of questions arise from this formulation of the events of 883. First, there is the statement that the new Danish king had been held as a slave in Northumberland. Whittingham was a possession of the Church of St Cuthbert, a fact which might explain the involvement of the Community in the episode. A recent opinion is that Guthred was, in fact, a political exile, the representative of a faction at York, sold into slavery by his rivals. (52) After the death of Halfdan, the faction which saw Guthred as its candidate, found itself in the ascendancy and negotiated with the Cuthbertine Community for his return. Guthrum's ransom was considerable; the territory which lay between the Tyne and the Wear together with an oath of peace and fidelity and a guarantee of the right of Sanctuary at Cuthbert's tomb.

There is also the problem of what significance should be attached to the notices recorded in the annals of the 'tributary' kings of English Northumbria. The first of these was a certain Egbert I, given power by Halfdan in 867 in the aftermath of Osberht and Aella's defeat. In 872 Egbert I and Archbishop Wulfhere of York were expelled by the 'Northumbrians'. There is some ambiguity in the annals as to who the 'Northumbrians' who expelled the king and archbishop were. It seems likely that it was a reference to the English Northumbrians as, in the following year, the annalist recorded that the Danes marched into Northumbria from London and placed Ricsig in Egbert I's place. A revolt by those living to the north of the Tyne against the rule of a Danish place-man seems to be described here. Wulfhere was rejected presumably for his associations with the Danish regime.

It was, perhaps, a similar uprising against Scandinavian rule which precipitated Halfdan's ferocious attack in 875 which destroyed 'all the

monasteries.' (53) It was as a result of this attack that Bishop Eardulf and Abbot Eadred led the Cuthbertine Community on its seven years 'Wanderings' after the abandonment of Lindisfarne. In 876 Halfdan divided Northumbria (south of the Tyne) between his companions and Egbert II succeeded his father, Ricsig, as king of English Northumbria. The events of 883, therefore, followed a number of uprisings by English Northumbria against Danish rule, followed by ferocious reprisals which reinstated Scandinavian overlordship. The Community of St Cuthbert^r ^a was forced to abandon its home on Lindisfarne and embark as refugees upon a prolonged march through Northumbria.

Several elements in this narrative conspire to cast doubt on the story of the 'wanderings' of St Cuthbert as presented by the sources for this period, all of which had some connexion with the Church of St Cuthbert. If, as the sources describe, St Cuthbert's Community was destitute and forced into internal exile in Northumbria, how was it able to retain political influence so strong that it was able to bargain for a large tract of land and an unconditional recognition of its privileges? Secondly, how was it that the Community managed to engineer the retention of those properties which it had held before Haldan's arrival? Crayke, for example, had been seized by AElla, and lay close to the centre of Danish power at York, yet its abbot, Geve, was able to offer Cuthbert's relics a resting place during their peregrinations.

The author of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* describes the wanderings of St Cuthbert' in terms which suggest a pathetic band of footsore clerics tramping the highways and by-ways of Northumbria in search of a safe haven, with the Scandinavian wolves baying at their heels. (54) The story was the very stuff of legend and even before

Symeon's time the circumstances surrounding the departure from Lindisfarne had become obfuscated by layers of myth. For example, two miracle stories associated with the evacuation of Lindisfarne tell how St Cuthbert prevented the Community from departing Northumbria for Ireland and how a lost Gospel book was recovered from the sea virtually undamaged. (55) As the numbers of the refugees dwindled the task of carrying Cuthbert's body was left to just seven porters. (56) By Symeon's day a number of Northumbrian families were proud to be able to trace their ancestry back to one of these seven. (57) Modern historians, too, find the 'legend' difficult to resist and it is only fairly recently that it has been suggested that the conventional characterization of these events should be re-examined.

As with many other descriptions of events in the early history of the Church of St Cuthbert, beneath layers of myth and literary embroidery there may be, at the core, a basis in historical fact. There seems to be no cause to doubt that, in 875, St Cuthbert's Community began a lengthy perambulation of Northumbria. The impetus for embarking upon this journey may well have been Halfdan's campaign in 875, but it is not certain that the Community 'wandered' aimlessly over the next seven years. As has been shown, the Community managed to retain its lands and influence until, and beyond, the time of Guthred's election as king. The 'wanderings' may be the key to how this influence and these estates were maintained. Far from being without any purpose other than escape from the Danes, these peregrinations may have been undertaken to preserve the Community's hold over its estates. Cuthbert's body represented the title deeds to estates granted to his church. In the period 875 to 882/3, during which numerous monastic foundations

became

extinct, the Community of St Cuthbert may have sought to assert its claim to each of its estates through actual, physical occupation at some time during this period. The success of this policy was seen in the retention, not only of these lands, but also in the preservation of the Community's considerable political influence. (58)

To later writers such a worldly interest in landed estates would have little to recommend it as an explanation as to why the Church of St Cuthbert should have abandoned the original site of its foundation. (59) The picture that was painted was of the devotees of St Cuthbert demonstrating their love for their patron by enduring severe physical hardship for a number of years. Refugees often become the heroes of legend ; conscientious proprietors of landed estates rarely do. As a last point on this subject, it is worth noting that the *Historia Regum's* annal for 881 has the following entry concerning Viking operations in *Frankia*;

'In those days very many monasteries in that nation were sacked and left deserted; for the brethren of the monastery of St Benedict which is called *Floriacum*, taking with them his relics from the tomb where they had been laid with great splendour wandered here and there.' (60)

It is tempting to see significant parallels between the fate of the monastic house at Fleury and that of St Cuthbert in Northumbria. (61)

If the Church of St Cuthbert had managed to retain its power and prestige during the years between 875 and 883, this would explain why it was that it played such a central role in the political settlement following Halfdan's death. Guthred was baptised and consecrated by Bishop Eardulf and, as a result of Guthred's coronation, the Church of

St Cuthbert acquired its substantial property south of the Tyne and the Community was relocated to Chester-le-Street, at the heart of the newly granted territory.

Guthred's grant, which may be seen as the foundation endowment of the church at Chester-le-Street, included the estates of monasteries which had been destroyed by the Danes. Land between the Tyne and the Wear encompassed the holdings of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, as well as the defunct diocese of Hexham. (62) St Cuthbert's Church used its position of power to advance claims to all vacant ecclesiastical sites in the North-west.

As well as being a convenient administrative centre for the Community's estates, Chester-le-Street had connexions with St Cuthbert's church which pre-date the move there in 883. As the site of a Roman fort, Chester afforded the Community some measure of defence and, as has been noted, it may have formed one of a series of way-stations used by the bishops of Lindisfarne on their journeys from Holy Island to York. (63) For a number of wholly practical reasons, then, the Church of St Cuthbert migrated from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street in the years following the creation of the Viking kingdom of York in 867.

Abbot Eadred augmented the Church's holdings by purchasing a number of villas from Guthred and the Danes. These lay in the east of County Durham, in the modern parishes of Easington and Monk Hesleden to the north of Hartlepool. (64) Guthred's generosity towards the Church of St Cuthbert earned him the saint's protection against an army of Scots. As Guthred was about to engage them in battle they were swallowed up by an earthquake. (65) The benefits of St Cuthbert's intercession with God on

behalf of those who were generous to his church thus even extended to the Danish conquerors of Northumbria.

St Cuthbert's Scandinavian benefactor, Guthred, died in 894 and at the beginning of the tenth century the church at Chester-le-Street faced a new Viking threat. Towards the end of the ninth century, Scandinavians driven from Ireland began to settle along the Irish Sea littoral of Cumbria forcing some movement eastwards of those deprived of estates by the newcomers. The situation was exacerbated by the southward expansion of the Strathclyde Britons. (66) Refugees from this combined onslaught sought shelter in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert which, under Bishop Cutheard (900-915) had continued to expand. Cutheard purchased several estates *de pecunia sancti Cuthberti*, including Sedgfield and Bedlington. (67) As well as the bishop's purchases the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* also records a number of other gifts to the church. A certain priest, Berrard [Bernard?] gave his vill of *Twilingatun* to St Cuthbert in order that he might be allowed to join the monastery. (68) Wulfheard son of Hwetreddincus gave the Church of St Cuthbert *Bynnewelle* variously identified as Benwell or Binchester. (69)

Bishop Cutheard and the Community of St Cuthbert also made a number of leases of territory to some of those who had fled to the church seeking asylum. (70) One of the earliest of these refugees was Abbot Eadred of Carlisle who, as has been seen, remained with the Church of St Cuthbert although nothing is recorded by the sources as to why he initially joined up with the Community. Another Cumbrian abbot, Tilred of Heversham, purchased land in South Eden giving half of it to St Cuthbert and the rest to Norham in order that he might become abbot there. (71) Heversham lies in Cumbria where both Carlisle and Cartmel

also had Cuthbertine associations. The most explicit reference to refugees from the Scandinavian attacks on the North-west becoming tenants of St Cuthbert concerns Alfred, son of Birihtulfing. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* recorded;

His diebus Elfred filius Birihtulfinci fugiens piratas venit ultra montes versus occidentem, et quaesivit misericordiam sancti Cuthberti, et episcopi Cutheardi ut praestarent sibi aliquas terras.
(72)

Alfred leased a substantial block of land in the east of County Durham, which was composed mainly of the estates purchased by Abbot Eadred, together with Easington, South Eden and Billingham. (73) The terms of the lease were that Alfred was to become the *fidelis* of the Church of St Cuthbert. He was probably fulfilling his duty when he met his death in battle at Corbridge against the Norwegian Ragnald. (74)

Another of the leases made at this time by the bishop and Community was contracted with a certain Edred, son of Rixing. He, too, sought sanctuary in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, but it was probably due to his having committed a homicide in Northumbria rather than because he was escaping the Irish vikings. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* says that Edred '...fled to the west beyond the mountains, and killed prince Eardulf and seized his wife against the wishes of the people, and then escaped to the patrimony of St Cuthbert.' (75) He remained there for three years cultivating the lands leased to him by Cutheard. His estates were, essentially, the western and south-western parts of County Durham, including Gainford. (76) Edred, like Alfred, perished in the battle against Ragnald, nevertheless possession of these estates remained in

his family's hands as Ragnald granted them to Edred's sons Esbrid and earl Elstan. A note concerning a gift by a certain Scott, son of Alstan of Aclea [Great Aycliffe] with its dependencies, was inserted into the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*. (77)

Edred's reception by the Church of St Cuthbert once again indicates the Community's willingness to become involved in Northumbrian politics. It is likely that Edred's father was that Rixing [Ricsig] who ruled Northumbria north of the Tyne on behalf of the Danes at the end of the ninth century (873-876). Edred's brother, Egbert II was replaced by Eardulf, a member of the old Northumbrian House of Bamburgh. It is probably that Eardulf and his wife who were the object of Edred's attack. Edred's actions may represent an attempt to regain control of Northumbria by his family, but, as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* says, the coup failed as it was *contra pacem et voluntatem populi*. (78) It may seem strange that the Community should harbour an enemy of its traditional ally, the House of Bamburgh, (79) but it had already shown that it was willing to reach an accommodation with the Scandinavians in order to preserve its own position. At the beginning of the tenth century the Church of St Cuthbert was eager to recruit vassals who would defend its property in return for grants of estates. It seems that it was prepared to accept any likely candidate. (80) Despite Cutheard's attempts to defend the lands of St Cuthbert, the aftermath of the battle of Corbridge was the most serious reversal of the Community's fortunes.

The battle of Corbridge c.918 (81) marked a decisive victory for Scandinavian faction which had no time for the accommodations which had regulated Northumbria. As a response to this serious threat the Church of St Cuthbert and the rulers of English Northumbria began to look to

the West Saxon kings for protection. It is thought that the Viking army led by Ragnald may have been formed by the Norwegians driven out of Ireland in the late ninth century. The effect of their raids in the North-west has already been mentioned and it was in an attempt to halt their activities that a coalition of Scots, Northumbrians and Cumbrians met them in battle.(82) The defeat of this alliance had serious repercussions for the Church of St Cuthbert for Ragnald occupied the Community's estates in County Durham and shared out Alfred, son of Birihtulfincus' estates and land along the North Sea coast from the Wear to the Tees, between two of his generals, Scula and Onalafbal.(83) Onalafbal is said to have suffered for threats of enmity which he made at the tomb of Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street.(84)

Despite Ragnald's enmity the Community decided to remain at Chester-le-Street in an attempt to protect its lands.(85) It was at this time, when Edward the Elder was beginning to challenge the position of the Scandinavians in the North, that the contacts between the Community and the ruling house of Wessex were established. A large part of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* concerns Alfred the Great's struggle against the Danes and describes the help that he had received from St Cuthbert. (86) This was thought to have been a later interpolation, but, more recently it has been convincingly argued that the 'Alfred-St Cuthbert' episode does have a political relevance for the early tenth century.(87) An alliance between Wessex and the rulers of English Northumbria, the House of Bamburgh and the Church of St Cuthbert, was of benefit to both sides. The West Saxon kings were seeking to establish a legitimate claim to overlordship and the English Northumbrians were looking for allies in their bid to check Scandinavian ambitions. In the

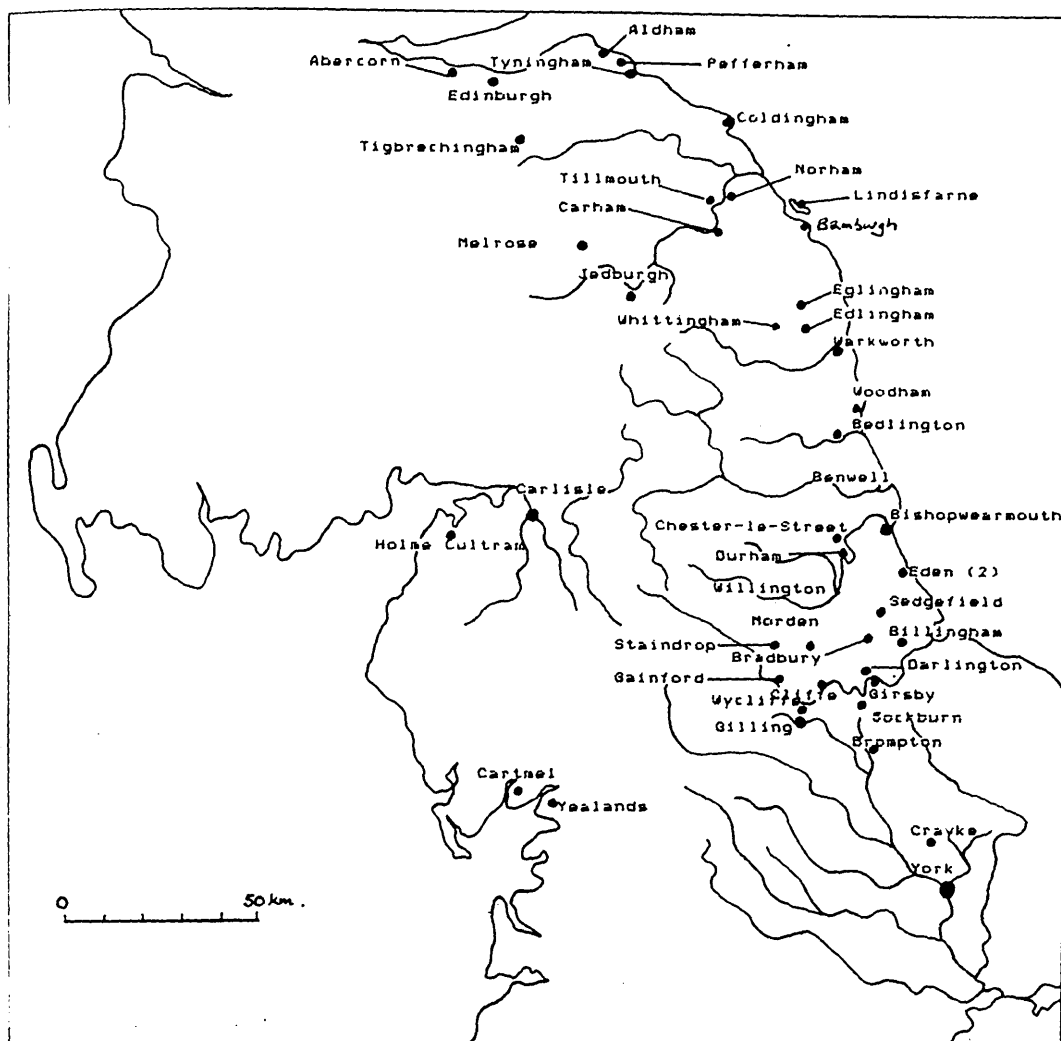


Fig. 2.1. The Patrimony of St Cuthbert.

Sources; *Historia Regum*; *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*; *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*; *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, ['Red Book of Durham]. The map is based on that of C.D. Morris in 'Northumbria and the Viking Settlement; the Evidence for Landholding', AA, 5th series, (1977), pp. 81-96 at p. 91.

political propaganda produced by the Church of St Cuthbert, this conjunction of interests manifested itself in the Alfred/St Cuthbert legend.

The alliance with the West Saxon kings brought a number of donations by them to St Cuthbert's shrine at Chester-le-Street. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* preserves a *testamentum* which Athelstan is supposed to have placed on Cuthbert's tomb during his visit there in 934. As well as endowing the Church with numerous precious ornaments and liturgical texts, Athelstan also donated the estate of South Wearmouth (88). The vills listed as belonging to the estate had formed part of the land appropriated by Onlafbal and they probably passed into Athelstan's hands on the former's death. Athelstan's successor also visited Chester-le-Street and confirmed his brother's gifts and the privileges of the Church of St Cuthbert.

The visit of Edmund to Cuthbert's shrine is considered to have been the last event recorded in the original text of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. There were later additions, however, which describe grants of land made to the Community in the eleventh century. The main characteristics of this later material are that it suggests increasingly close co-operation between the earls of Northumbria and the Church of St Cuthbert as well as indicating a change in the status of those making grants to the Community.

For the second half of the tenth century there are no further notices of contact between the West Saxon rulers and the Church of St Cuthbert. This seems especially surprising in view of the careful cultivation of links by members of that family during the period c. 900 to 950. Most confounding of all is the lack of any evidence to suggest



that Edgar's monastic reforms ever reached Chester-le-Street. Within Northumbria itself strong ties developed between the comital House of Bamburgh and the Church of St Cuthbert. West Saxon policy in the North led to a promotion of these allies as a counter-balance to the Scandinavian earldom and archbishopric of York. (89) In 954 Wessex annexed the whole of English Northumbria, after the expulsion and defeat of the last Scandinavian king of York, Eric 'Bloodaxe'. From then onwards a series of earls were appointed to govern English and Scandinavian Northumbria. Occasionally the earl of one or other of the sectors was given power over the whole region, but more usually two earls ruled under the West Saxon kings with the boundary between their relative spheres of influence delineated by the Tyne. Between 954 and the arrival of the Normans in the North, Northumbrian politics was dominated by this basic distribution of power and the rivalries which it engendered. In general, whilst there was a West Saxon on the throne of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, the earls of English Northumbria were allied with the crown in an attempt to curtail the tendency of the earls of York to seek alliances with Scandinavian intruders. On the accession of Cnut and his sons, however, it was the House of Bamburgh which displayed separatist inclinations. (90) Finally, to this summary of the course of Northumbrian politics in the later-tenth and eleventh centuries, must be added the increasing threat posed by the Scots whose territorial ambitions had secured the annexation of Lothian in, or before, 973. (91) It is within this political context that the evolution of the patrimony of St Cuthbert in the late tenth and eleventh centuries will be examined.

The last quarter of the tenth century witnessed a number of problems for the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, not the least of which was the return of the Danes in the reign of Aethelred II. The Scots too had been expanding their dominion and St Cuthbert's Church had suffered the substantial loss of its estates in Lothian, land which was only partially recovered at the end of the eleventh century. (92)

The body of St Cuthbert was translated once more, at the end of the tenth century from Chester-le-Street, via Ripon, to Durham. Symeon explains this move as being prompted by a vision experienced by Bishop Aldhun warning of an imminent attack by some 'pirates' who were nearby. (93) Symeon implies that a mass exodus from Chester-le-Street took place with the body of St Cuthbert being accompanied by the entire population of the Church's estates, bringing their possessions and cattle. The disturbances lasted for three or four months and then Aldhun began to lead his flock back towards Chester-le-Street. (94) However, at a place near Durham called *Wurdela* Cuthbert's coffin took root and could be moved no further. It was only after a certain cleric, Eadmer, had been told in a 'revelation' that the saint wished to take up residence at Durham, that the coffin could be moved. (95)

Once again, a more prosaic explanation might be given for the migration to Durham rather than the story given in the sources with its supernatural element. During the episcopate of Aldhun (987-1016) (96) ties between the Community of St Cuthbert and the comital house of Bamburgh became very close. Earl Uhtred of Northumbria contracted a marriage with Bishop Aldhun's daughter, Ecgfrida, and six vills were transferred to the earl. (97) The information for this episode and for the subsequent descent of these estates comes from a document known as

the *De Obsessione Dunelmi* which has little to do with a siege of Durham and much more to do with the Community's rights to property. (98) Not only was Uhtred Aldhun's son-in-law, but he also assisted the Community in clearing the site at Durham. Symeon states that 'the entire population of the district which extends from the river Coquet to the Tees' provided the labour for this exercise, and, at a later date participated in the erection of Aldhun's cathedral. The statement probably refers to the occupants of St Cuthbert's estates in southern Northumberland and County Durham, although it is possible that behind Symeon's words there is a significance now lost. These pieces of evidence indicate that the Church of St Cuthbert was on close terms with Uhtred and the move to Durham may have had more political connotations than the sources would suggest. Certainly, the natural defences of the site at Durham afforded the Community more protection than the ramparts of the Roman fort at Chester-le-Street. Once again the considerations of estate-management may also have prompted a move further south as, in this period, the Community acquired a number of estates in the south of County Durham. These pious benefactions may have been designed to win the Church of St Cuthbert's support in a struggle for political power in Northumbria.

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* records a number of donations made to the church by nobles during Aldhun's pontificate. One of these was a gift by a certain Styr, son of Ulf, consisting of Darlington, together with land purchased in Coniscliffe, Cockerton, Haughton-le-Skerne, Normanby, Ceattune, and Lumley. (99) The land granted by Styr was measured in *carucata* which may indicate that the estates had been settled by Scandinavians at some stage during the tenth century. Styr

himself was a nobleman from York and made his gift under the auspices of king Aethelred II. Significantly, Styr was also earl Uhtred's father-in-law, for after the earl had set aside Aldhun's daughter, he had married Styr's daughter Sigen. According to the *De Obsessione Dunelmi* the marriage contract drawn up by Styr and Uhtred contained a clause in which the earl agreed to kill Styr's enemy Thurbrand. (100) This agreement has been seen as the beginning of the 'most remarkable private feud in English history' (101) with a series of assassinations taking place over the next half century, as first one side then the other pursued its personal vendetta.

W.E. Kapelle has suggested that this 'private blood-feud' was actually a struggle for political control in Northumbria. (102) Styr seems to have represented a pro-Wessex faction in York whilst the *Hold* Thurbrand, was an important member of the pro-Scandinavian party. (103) As has already been stated, Styr was linked to Aethelred II and is described as one of the king's valued supporters in one source. (104) Uhtred was also closely associated with the West Saxon king as he married Aethelred's daughter, Aelfifu. (105) This may explain how Uhtred managed to acquire control over both English and Scandinavian sectors of Northumbria and retain it until his murder, in 1016, at Cnut's court. Ironically, Uhtred's assassin was Thurbrand the target of Uhtred and Styr's conspiracy. It seems that the murder was committed with Cnut's approval, if not at his bidding. (106) Forty of Uhtred's retainers were slaughtered with the earl and it is this fact which, according to Kapelle, makes this more than a simple Northumbrian 'blood-feud'. Despite the Scandinavian acquisition of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, the House of Bamburgh retained control of Northumbria north of the Tyne,

with Uhtred being succeeded by his brother Eadulf Cudel and then by his son, Eadred. The 'feud' continued with Eadred avenging his father's murder by killing Thurbrand, but, in turn meeting his death at the hands of Thurbrand's son Carl. (107)

Amid these events, the Church of St Cuthbert continued to augment its landed endowment, although it is doubtful that the estates acquired at the beginning of the eleventh century were compensation for the loss of the lands in Lothian. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* preserves the record of a grant by a certain Snaculf, son of Cytel, who donated estates which straddled the Tees, an area that formed part of the region settled by the Scandinavians. (108) Aldhun's death was followed by a three year vacancy in the bishopric. Symeon's account of the episode contains a thinly veiled criticism of the members of the Community which preceded the monastic foundation of 1083. According to Symeon, the vacancy was the result of a reluctance, on the part of the members of the Community, to abandon worldly pleasures in order to ascend the episcopal chair. (109) Finally, a clerk of the church, Edmund was chosen and on his election he journeyed to Cnut's court to have his appointment confirmed. It is this last point regarding Cnut's approval of the new Bishop of Durham which may indicate why there was a three-year vacancy. Cnut was anxious to control the activities of the Church of St Cuthbert and to this end may have refused to allow the appointment of any candidates for the bishopric whom he found unsuitable. The reluctance of the members of the Cuthbertine Community to put themselves forward as candidates for the post was due to their realisation that they might be seen as royal place-men. Edmund's appointment was

confirmed by Cnut at Winchester, c.1020, and Symeon remarks that the bishop was 'much loved and honoured by the king'. (110)

Edmund's pontificate saw the first attempt by a king of England to exercise a measure of control over the Church of St Cuthbert. A similar policy had been essayed by the West Saxon kings in their dealings with the archbishopric of York. In order to obviate the possibility of the archbishop supporting a local separatist movement, no appointee to the post after Wulfstan I (died 956) was from the North. (111) After Edmund, two brothers, Egelric and Egelwin, assumed control of the bishopric. They were southern monks from Peterborough originally recruited by Edmund to instruct him in the monastic life. Whereas, in later Durham tradition, Edmund was remembered as an efficient administrator, Egelric and Egelwin were regarded with contempt, their most grievous fault being that each of them was an *extraneus*, or outsider. (112) Edmund's death may have signalled an attempt by the Community to regain control of its own affairs as Eadred, described as Edmund's deputy, took a large sum of money *ex thesauris ecclesie* and bought the bishopric from Hardacnut. The account given in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* records that Eadred died after only ten months as bishop, a fact seen by Symeon as just punishment for the simoniacal purchase of ecclesiastical office. (113) Eadred's purpose may well have been personal gain, as Symeon implies, although it is not unlikely that he was attempting to ransom the Church's privileges from Hardacnut.

The Church of St Cuthbert also benefited from Cnut's need to win political support in Northumbria. In c. 1031 the king made a barefoot pilgrimage to Cuthbert's shrine and there donated the estates of Staindrop in County Durham and Brompton in North Yorkshire. (114) Many

of the vills listed in Cnut's grant form part of a list of properties alienated from the Church of St Cuthbert during Aldhun's episcopate. This suggests that the Community was making a claim to certain lands which Cnut was acknowledging. The sources suggest that Aldhun was under pressure due to the unsettled political situation at the beginning of the eleventh century and was forced to make grants, envisaged as temporary expedients, but which became permanent alienations of property. (115)

Just as his West Saxon predecessors, Athelstan and Edmund had done, therefore, Cnut recognised the political importance of the Church of St Cuthbert. Bishop Edmund was close to the royal court (116) and his successors were appointed by the crown. Substantial donations to the shrine of St Cuthbert, restoring lands alienated by the church during the war between Aethelred and Cnut may also have made the Community at Durham more reluctant to become involved in any separatist movement centred on English Northumbria. It was especially important for Cnut to ensure the loyalty of the Church of St Cuthbert as it is quite probable that the House of Bamburgh was in open revolt throughout his reign. The Community's reluctance to support the earl of Northumbria marked the success of Cnut's policy.

Scottish pressure on Northumbria was also considerable during the first decades of the eleventh century. In 1018 the Scots defeated a Northumbrian army at Carham-on-Tweed, killing the earl; news of the defeat hastened Bishop Aldhun's own demise. (117) Durham itself was besieged in 1040 when Duncan I took advantage of the turmoil within Northumbria. He was defeated and was soon afterwards deposed by Macbeth. (118) It was in the aftermath of this attack that the Scandinavian ruler

of York, Siward, seized his opportunity to conquer the rest of Northumbria.

Siward killed Earl Eadulf, son of Uhtred and Sigen. During Edward the Confessor's reign Siward gained a position of considerable power despite his Danish origins. Working closely with Leofric of Mercia, Siward opposed the machinations of the Godwin clan. In Northumbria, Siward concentrated on the defence of the border against the Scots and, by exploiting factionalism within the Scottish realm was largely successful in his aims.. His position with regard to English Northumbria was more precarious and he sought to strengthen it by allying himself with the comital House of Bamburgh. He married Earl Baldred's daughter, AElflaeda, through whom he hoped to inherit the family's lands. There is also the suggestion that he associated Uhtred's youngest son, Cospatric, with him in the government of English Northumbria. (119) It has been suggested that Siward intended to divide his earldom between his two sons; Osbeorn from his first marriage would govern York whilst Waltheof, from his marriage with AEfflaeda would rule north of the Tyne. (120)

Siward's policy towards the Church of St Cuthbert was less conciliatory. To begin with he appropriated the vills granted to Earl Uhtred by Aldhun, claiming the right to the land through his wife, AElflaeda. (121) There was little that the Church of Durham could do to oppose Siward, especially after the elevation of Egelric to the bishopric following the death of Eadred. (122) An opposition party did develop at Durham and in 1045 or 1046 Egelric was expelled by the Community. The rebellion was short-lived, however, as Siward reinstated the bishop by force of arms. Despite Siward's actions within Northumbria, the historians of the Church of St Cuthbert seem to have

recognised his contribution to the security of the North. There is none of the vilification usually reserved for despoilers of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert; Siward is simply referred to as *strenuus dux Northymbroꝝ*, a phrase which recognises the vigour of his rule. (123) Without doubt Siward's greatest achievement was to ensure that Malcolm III was installed upon the Scottish throne. It was hoped that Malcolm would show his gratitude to his sponsor by maintaining peace in the North, but, in the event Malcolm pursued the territorial ambitions of his father. (124) Siward died in 1055 and was succeeded by Tostig, the son of his rival Godwin of Wessex.

Tostig was the first Anglo-Saxon from south of the Humber to hold direct power over Northumbria. His acquisition of the earldom seems to have been another step in the aggrandisement of the Godwin family rather than an attempt by Edward the Confessor to integrate the region more fully into his kingdom. Tostig entrusted the practical government of Northumbria to a member of his *familia*, the Yorkshire noble, Copsig, who was linked to neither Siward's family nor to the House of Bamburgh. Both Tostig and his lieutenant are recorded as benefactors of the Church of St Cuthbert, and Tostig was particularly noted in the sources for his devotion to the saint. (125) Tostig's wife, Judith, joined her husband in his gifts to the shrine, and, according to Symeon, she exhibited a strong desire to worship in person at Cuthbert's tomb, a privilege denied members of the female sex. (126) Copsig, too, followed the earl's example and donated land in North Yorkshire to St Cuthbert. (127)

A year after Tostig acquired the earldom, Bishop Egelric resigned the episcopate. The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* says that he absconded with a great treasure taken from the church at Durham, whilst

more sympathetic sources indicate that Egelric faced threats to the liberties of the Church which he did not feel capable of withstanding. (128) If the Community hoped to regain control of its own affairs they were to be disappointed as Egelric's brother, Egelwin, became bishop '... with the assistance and favour of Earl Tostig.' (129) The last Anglo-Saxon bishop of Durham received similar treatment to his brother in the sources; he, too, was an outsider and a despoiler of the church. (130)

Tostig's rule in Northumbria was perilous as, unlike either Siward or the earls of Bamburgh, he had no power-base in the region. Tostig relied on a harsh regime for maintaining his rule. There are hints in the sources that Tostig faced considerable opposition. A miracle story dating from the late eleventh century, preserved at Durham, records that one of Tostig's main opponents was a certain 'outlaw' Aldan-Hamal. (131) Tostig captured him and kept him in gaol in Durham. The outlaw appealed to St Cuthbert for help and his fetters fell away and he sought sanctuary in the monastery. One of Tostig's men, a certain Barcwith, attempted to break in to seize the fugitive, whereupon he was struck down by the saint. Perhaps, here in this miracle story, is some measure of the problem which Tostig faced. It may also suggest that the Community of St Cuthbert, if not the bishop, was prepared to harbour fugitives from Tostig's rule.

Pressure from the Scots added to Tostig's problems. Malcolm III invaded the North in c. 1058-9, seizing southern Cumbria. Tostig offered no resistance, preferring to negotiate with Malcolm at Edward's court. This apparent weakness combined with severe fiscal exactions (132),

finally provoked Tostig's opponents into revolt. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that;

All the men of his earldom were unanimous in repudiating him, and outlawed him and all those with him who had promoted injustice, because he robbed God first, and then despoiled of life and land all those over whom he could tyrannize. (133)

Tostig had, therefore succeeded in doing something that none of his predecessors had achieved; he became universally unpopular throughout Northumbria.

The revolt against Tostig seems to have been precipitated by two particular events, one of which, according to Kapelle, was an attempt by the Church of St Cuthbert to reassert its political influence in Northumbria. In 1063 and 1064 Tostig outraged Northumbrian opinion by executing three important noblemen, Gamel, son of Orm, Ulf, son of Dolfin and Cospatric. Gamel and Ulf were killed at York whilst they were under a licence of safe-conduct, and Cospatric met his death at Edward's Christmas court in a plot engineered by Tostig's sister, Queen Edith. All three nobles were closely associated with the comital House of Bamburgh. Cospatric was the youngest son of Earl Uhtred. Gamel's father, Orm, had married Cospatric's sister and Ulf was probably one of Cospatric's retainers. They represent a rival claim to the Northumbrian earldom and were thus eliminated by Tostig. (134)

The part played by the Community of St Cuthbert is more ambiguous than Kapelle's thesis suggests. He says that opposition to Bishop Egelwin at Durham was led by the sacristan, Elfred Westou, who was remembered by historians of the church of Durham as a great accumulator

of relics. Kapelle argues that the relic-hunting was undertaken because, 'the clerks had had to endure sophisticated gibes from their southern bishops concerning Durham's poverty in sacred relics'. (135) In March 1065, shortly after the betrayal and murder of Cospatric, Elfred exhibited the body of King Oswin a seventh century martyr. Kapelle draws the following conclusion; 'The parallel between Cospatric and Oswin was obvious, and the public display of Oswin's body at Durham was clearly an attempt by the clerks to incite their flock to revolt'. There are problems with this reconstruction of events. To begin with the incident as reported by Kapelle occurs nowhere in the sources produced at Durham in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Kapelle's reference is to the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* pages 87-89. The chapters covered in these pages refer to the election of Bishop Edmund (III, vi), and to Elfred's activities (III, vii). The chapter concerning Elfred does, indeed, portray him as an assiduous gatherer of relics but Symeon implies that these were the object of envy rather than of ridicule. (136) There is no suggestion, in Symeon's History that Elfred exhibited the relics. The only reference to St Oswin's relics comes from the *Historia Regum* which states that it was Bishop Egelwin who disinterred the relics of Oswin and placed them in a shrine. The annal does not say where this shrine was. (137) The evidence from the Durham sources, therefore, does not warrant the construction placed on it by Kapelle. (138) It is likely that Bishop Egelwin, who owed his position to Tostig, would be reluctant to join a revolt against the earl and without evidence it is impossible to gauge the role played by the Community of St Cuthbert in the events of 1065.

The revolt against Tostig is well documented. His expulsion from the earldom of Northumbria marked the beginning of a period of great uncertainty in the North and certainly did nothing to assist the chances of the Anglo-Saxon king against the Norman and Scandinavian threats of 1066. The Northumbrian reaction to William's victory was that of a people which resented any form of government imposed from the outside, unless that government guaranteed them a measure of self-rule. This theme dominates the pre-Conquest history of Northumbria.

By the middle of the eleventh century the Church of St Cuthbert was one of the most powerful institutions north of the Humber. From the seventh century onwards it had accumulated a substantial landed endowment which became known as the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. This wealth enabled the Church of St Cuthbert to play an active role in Northumbrian politics and to ensure that the estates of the church were protected. The Bishop and Community were prepared to negotiate with whatever group held sway in Northumbria, whether that was the Northumbrian kings of the seventh and eighth centuries, the Scandinavians of York in the ninth century or the rulers of Wessex in the late ninth and tenth centuries. At the beginning of the eleventh century the close relationship between the earls of Bamburgh and the Church of St Cuthbert was signified by the marriage of Bishop Aldhun's daughter to earl Uhtred.

The influence of the Church of St Cuthbert and the power of the saint's cult in the North was recognised from an early date by rulers who sought to control the region. Hence it was that the West Saxon kings cultivated ties with St Cuthbert and made substantial gifts to his church, a policy continued by the Danish rulers of England in the

eleventh century. Attempts to impose direct control upon the Church of St Cuthbert had brought resentment and undermined Tostig's regime. The successful government of Northumbria demanded an appreciation of the importance of the ecclesiastical corporation at Durham. It had a long tradition of independence and the problem for William the Conqueror and those whom he, and his sons appointed to govern in the North, was how to exercise effective control over the church without provoking the sort of reaction which had destroyed Tostig's power.

Endnotes.

(1) Oswald looked to Iona for help in the reconversion because he had received baptism from the Celtic church whilst in exile in Scotland, (Bede, *H(istoria) E(cclesiastica gentis Anglorum)*, translated by L. Sherley-Price, Book III, iii, p.144. For Penda and Cadwalla see Bede *HE* II, xx, p.138.

(2) Bede, *HE* III, v, p.149

(3) Bede, *HE* III, iii, p.144

(4) Bede, *HE* III, iii, p.145

(5) Whenever the king of Scots was to be escorted to the court of the Anglo-Saxon kings, the task was entrusted to the incumbents of these offices. The annal for 1059 in the *Historia Regum* says that Malcolm III was escorted to Edward by Kinsi, Archbishop of York, Egelwin, Bishop of Durham and Tosti, earl of Northumbria. *SMO* ii, p.174.

(6) Bede *HE* III,iii p.145

(7) See B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940) p.313, where he suggests that Aidan may have chosen Lindisfarne because he did not wish to associate his mission with that of Paulinus by placing his see at or near York. For the significance of the location of early christian sites in Northumbria, see Rosalind Hill 'Christianity and Geography in Early Northumbria', in *Studies in Church History* ed. D. Baker, pp.126-139. Connections between Lindisfarne and Bamburgh were close and it was at the royal palace that Aidan died on August 31 651. (Bede, *HE* III, caps. iii,v,vi,xvi,xvii)

(8) Bede, *HE* III,iii p.145

(9) E. Craster 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', *EHR* lxi, (1954), p.178. [Henceforth, Craster 'Patrimony']

(10) C.D. Morris 'Northumbria and the Viking Settlement-the evidence for land-holding.' *AA* 5th series, v, (1977) p.91.

(11) The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* was printed by Thomas Arnold in *SMO* vol.i, pp. 196-214. The description of Lindisfarne's estates forms section 4. (The division of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* was an expedient of the text's editors and not a feature of the original. The divisions are used here for convenient reference.) The annal for 854 in the *Historia Regum* is to be found in *SMO* vol.ii, pp.101-102.

(12) *A fluvio Tweoda usque ad Warnamuthe, et inde superius usque ad illum locum ubi haec aqua quae vocatur Warned oritur, iuxta montem Hybberndune et ab illo monte usque ad fluvium qui vocatur Bromic, et inde usque ad fluvium qui vocatur Till.* (*SMO*, i, p.199)

(13) Et illa terra ultra Tweoda, ab illo loco ubi oritur fluvius Edrae [White Adder] ab aquilone, usque ad illum locum ubi cadit in Tweoda, et tota terra quae iacet inter istum fluvium Edrae, et alterum fluvium qui vocatur Leder versus occidentem, et tota terra quae iacet ab orientali parte istius aquae quae vocatur Leder, usque ad illum locum ubi cadit in fluvium Tweoda versus austrum; et tota terra quae pertinet ad monasterium sancti Balthere, quod vocatur Tinningaham a Lombormore usque ad Escemuthe. (SMO. i, p.199)

(14) i.e. Melrose, Tigbrethingham [unidentified], Abercorn, Edinburgh, Pepperham, Aldham, Tynningham, Coldingham, Tillmouth and Norham-on-Tweed.

(15) Early Anglian monasteries were ; Melrose, Abercorn, Coldingham, Norham and Tynningham. See Craster, 'Patrimony' p.179.

(16) *Historia Regum* s.a. 756 SMO ii, p.41

(17) *H(istoria de) S(ancto) C(uthberto)* s.3 SMO i, p.197. Cuthbert's vision of Aidan's ascension into heaven occurs in the *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo* cap. v in B. Colgrave, (ed. and trans.) *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* pp. 69,71.

(18) The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* has regi Osvingio but another version of the story preserved in the *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* reconstructed by H.H.E. Craster ['The Red Book of Durham' in *EHR* xl (1925) at p.523 (henceforth *RBD*), has Oswiu. Most historians have accepted the latter identification although there is no reason to reject Oswin especially as his son Ecgfrith was recorded as a great benefactor to the church on Lindisfarne. C.R. Hart is the exception to those who ascribe the grant to Oswiu, see *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975) no. 139, p.131.

(19) Tunc rex et omnes meliores Angli dederunt sancto Cuthberto omnem hanc terram quae iacet iuxta fluvium Bolbenda, cum his villis, Suggariple, et Hesterhoh, et Gistatadun, et Wequirtun, et Cliftun, et Scerbedle, et Colwela, et Eltherburna, et Thornburnam, et Scotadun, et Gathan, et Minethrun. Et ipse sanctus abbas [Boisil] sub testimonio ipsius regis monasterium Neilros cum omnibus suis appendentiis... (SMO, i, p.197) For the identification of the villis listed see C.R. Hart *Early Charters* no. 139 p.131.

(20) Although E. Craster acknowledges the story as unhistorical, he does suggest that the list of villis reads like 'a mutilated version of a genuine land-boc' and it may be one of the twelve book-land estates with which Bede says Oswiu endowed monasteries as a thank offering for his victory over Penda in 655. [Craster 'Patrimony' p. 180]

(21) For the grant of land in York, Crayke and Carlisle, see *HSC* s.5; for Cartmel and Suth-gedluit *HSC* s.6 and, for Carham, *HSC* s.7.

(22) See Craster, 'Patrimony' p.181 where he draws attention to Bede's *Vita sancti Cuthberti prosaica* (ed. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert* p.248) which suggests that the monastic foundation at Carlisle pre-dates Cuthbert's visit.

(23) 'The Bishop meanwhile stood leaning on his supporting staff, with his head inclined towards the ground and then he lifted up his eyes heavenwards again with a sigh and said, 'Oh! Oh! Oh! I think that the war is over and that judgement has been given against our people in the battle.' (B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, p.123)

(24) For other 'staging posts' on the journey between York and Lindisfarne, see E. Cambridge, 'Why did the Community of St Cuthbert Settle at Chester-le-Street?' in eds. G. Bonner, D. Rollason, C. Stancliffe, *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200* pp.367-86. [Henceforth G. Bonner et al. *St Cuthbert*].

(25) *HSC* s.5 in *SMD* i, p.199.

(26) Domesday Book i, f.298. For an examination of the evidence of St Cuthbert's lands in York see D.J. Hall 'The Community of St Cuthbert - its Properties, Rights and Claims From the Ninth century to the Twelfth.' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1984) pp.53-4. [Henceforth D.J. Hall 'Community']

(27) On the identification of *Suth-gedluit* see Craster 'Patrimony' p. 182, where he argues strongly for locating the vill at Gilling in Richmond, Yorkshire ; D.J. Hall 'Community' p.55 favours the Yealand location as does C.D. Morris ('Northumbria and the Viking Settlement-the Evidence for Landholding' *AA* 5th series, v, (1977)) who, with reservations, locates it at Yealand on his map, p.91.

(28) B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* p.117.

(29) *Culterham* in the list of properties in the annal for 854, *SMD* ii, p.101.

(30) Bede, *HE* iv, xii, p.226

(31) J. Raine, *The History and Antiquities of North Durham* (1852) appendix no.dccclxxxv, dated c.1106-1116.

(32) This suggestion was made by A. Thacker in 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert', in G. Bonner et al. *St Cuthbert* pp. 103-22.

(33) The *HSC* records the boundaries of this estate, *SMD* i, p.201

(34) *Historia Regum* s.a. 750, *SMD* ii, p.40

(35) There were a number of palace revolutions in the eighth century, for example Eadberht's son Oswulf was murdered by his own retainers in 758. In 774 king Ahlred was deposed. In 779 AEthelred lost his throne, regained it briefly before being murdered. For these and other examples see F.M. Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* 3rd edn., pp.93ff

(36) The much-quoted passage, found in the *Historia Regum* s.a. 793, reflects the shock that the raid engendered amongst contemporaries. The raiders might not have been aware of the religious nature of Lindisfarne

and may simply have attacked because it was a wealthy institution profiting from its trading vessels and its connexions with nearby Bamburgh.

(37) See Craster, 'Patrimony' pp.187-88 where he cites F. Liebermann *Die Heiligen Englands* (1889), p.10 *Beatus vero Cuthbertus in hoc loco qui vocatur Ubbanford requiescit iuxta amnem qui Tweode vocatur*. For the etymological reference in the *Historia Regum* see *SMO* ii, p.101

(38) Aidan's church, presumably a wooden structure, had survived for two hundred years. Its longevity may have been due to it being considered a 'relic' in itself with its associations with the foundation of the see of Lindisfarne. [Ecired]...*transportavit quandam ecclesiam factam a beato Aidano, tempore Oswaldi regis, de Lindisfarnensi insula ad Northam, ibique eam reaedificavit, et illuc corpus sancti Cuthberti et Ceolfvulfi regis transtulit...* (HSC s.9, in *SMO*, i, p.201)

(39) See the table drawn up by P.H. Sawyer (*Kings and Vikings* p.84) illustrating the number of Viking attacks on churches reported in each decade of the ninth century by the *Annals of Ulster*. Of some 52 recorded raids between 820 and 920, 43 occurred during the period 820-850.

(40) HSC s.21 in *SMO* i, p.208

(41) ie. 'the two Jedworths' HSC s.9 in *SMO* i, p.201

(42) Letter from Archbishop Thomas I of York to Algar, the clerk, which forbids Algar from administering chrism sent for the use of the Bishop of Glasgow within the diocese of Durham. Apparently Algar had given the chrism in Teviotdale '...of which I [Thomas] found the church of Durham seised.' Thomas ordered the priests of Teviotdale to seek their supplies of chrism from Durham 'which used to give it.' Thomas's letter is in H.H.E. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Ranulf Flambard', AA 4th series, vii, (1930) p.39.

(43) HSC s.9, in *SMO* i, p.201

(44) *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* s.11 in *SMO* i, p.202. The vills lie in Northumberland, to the south of Bamburgh on the map.

(45) HSC s.10. This section reports that AElla had a 'great hatred' for St Cuthbert which prompted him to occupy Crayke. The reason for this hatred is not given although, if, as has been suggested, Osberht's power lay in Bernicia, the Church of St Cuthbert may have felt obliged to support him in his struggle with his rival thus incurring AElla's odium. This may also explain why Osberht was more restrained in his reappropriation of Lindisfarne estates and why no specific mention of his personal dislike of the saint was made. It may be, of course, that the Community decided to remain neutral in the affair and so was plundered by both sides.

(46) *Osberhtus...post spatium unius anni eripuit Deus ab eo vitam et regnum...[AElla] sed mox ira Dei et sancti confessoris perterritus,*

caeso exercitu fugit et corruit, vitamque et regnum perdidit... (HSC s.10 in SMO i, pp.201-202)

(47) HSC s.12 in SMO i, pp.202-203

(48) ...*totam terram inter Tinam et Wirram...quicumque ad me confugerit, vel pro homicidio, vel pro aliqua necessitate, habeat pacem per xxxvii dies et noctes...* (HSC s.13, in SMO i, p.203)

(49) *Tunc Eardulfus episcopus detulit ad illum exercitum, et ad illum montem, corpus sancti Cuthberti, super quod iuravit ipse rex et totus exercitus pacem et fidelitatem, donec viverent; et hoc iusiurandum bene servaverunt.* (HSC s.13 in SMO i, p.203)

(50) *Historia Regum* s.a.883 in SMO ii, p.86.

(51) *Historia Regum* s.a.867 in SMO ii, p.75.

(52) D.J. Hall. 'Community', pp. 73-74.

(53) *Historia Regum* s.a. 875 in SMO ii, p.82. Cf. *H(istoria) D(unelmensis) E(cclesiae)* in SMO i, Bk. II, cap.vi pp. 55-56 where it is said that the Northumbrians appointed Ricsig as their king in Egbert's place. As Ricsig remained as king until his son succeeded him it is probable that he had Danish approval for his regime.

(54) *Eodem quoque tempore bonus episcopus Eardulfus et abbas Eadred tulerunt corpus sancti Cuthberti de Lindisfarnensi insula, et cum eo erraveraunt in terra, portantes illud de loco in locum, per septem annos...* The use of the verb *errare* reinforces the idea of exhausted, aimless wandering. (HSC s.20 in SMO i, p.207.)

(55) *HDE* II, xi (SMO i, pp. 64-65) ; II, xii (SMO i, pp.65-66)

(56) *HDE* II, x (SMO i, pp. 61-62)

(57) '...it is the proud boast of many people in the province of the Northumbrians, clerks as well as laymen, that they are descended from one of these families; for they pride themselves on the faithful service which their ancestors rendered to St Cuthbert.' *HDE* II, xii, (SMO i, p.65)

(58) There is a hint that Bishop Eardulf conducted a systematic visitation of his diocese in the *HDE* where it was noted that '...nor did he [Eardulf] take less care of the remoter portions of his diocese than he did of those areas more contiguous to Lindisfarne...' (SMO i, p.53) See D.W. Rollason, 'The Wanderings of St Cuthbert' in *Cuthbert Saint and Patron*, ed. D.W. Rollason (Durham, 1987) p. 50.

(59) This is assuming that a return to Lindisfarne from Norham had been made before 875.

(60) *His diebus plurima in eadem gente monasteria concussa sunt ac desolata. Nam et fratres coenobii sanctissimi Benedicti, ipsius*

reliquias a tumultu quo locato fuerant immensa pulchritudine secum auferentes hac illac discurrebant. (*Historia Regum* s.a. 881 in *SMD* 11, p.85)

(61) This is not to suggest that each of the authors who report the 'wanderings' had an account of the fate of Fleury before them when they wrote. However, St Benedict's relics would have been a subject of great interest to the members of the Community of St Cuthbert at all stages of their church's history, and it does not seem too implausible to suggest that they would draw the parallels discussed here.

(62) The last recorded Bishop of Hexham was Tidfrith, who died in 821. From the late ninth century until the eleventh the Church of St Cuthbert exercised authority over Hexham. Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were retained by the bishops of Durham until Walcher granted them to Aldwin c. 1075.

(63) See above p.32 n.24.

(64) 'Ethred [sic] supradictus abbas emit...has villas, Seletun [Monk Hesleden], Horetun [Horden], duas Geodene [Little and Castle Eden], Holum [Hulam], Hotun [Hutton Henry] and Twilingatun [unidentified]...' (*HSC* s.19 in *SMD* 1, p.207).

(65) See *HDE* II, xiii in *SMD* 1, p.70; the story also formed s.33 of the *HSC* (*SMD* 1, pp.213-214) and one of a series of *Capitula de Miraculis et Translationibus Sancti Cuthberti* cap.iv in *SMD* 1, pp. 240-42.

(66) C.D. Morris, 'Northumbria and the Viking Settlement-the Evidence for Landholding,' *AA* 5th series, v, (1977) p.84. [Henceforth; Morris, 'Landholding']

(67) *Cuthardus...emit de pecunia sancti Cuthberti villam quae vocatur Ceddesfeld, et quicquid ad eam pertinet, praeter quod tenebant tres homines, Aculf, Ethelbriht, Frithlaf. Super hoc tamen habuit episcopus sacam et socnam. emit etiam idem episcopus de pecunia sancti Cuthberti villam quae vocatur Bedlington cum suis appendiciis, Nedertun, Grubba, Twisle, Cebbingtun, Sliceburne, Commer.* (*HSC* s.21 in *SMD* 1, p.208). For Bedlington and Sedgfield as further candidates as staging posts between York and Lindisfarne see E. Cambridge's article cited above p.11 n.24. The significance of the phrase *cum suis appendiciis* is dealt with elsewhere.

(68) *Twilingatun* had been purchased by Abbot Eadred from the Danes (see above p. 45 and n.64. The Community seems to have granted it to Berrard or his predecessor at an unknown date. It has been suggested that the vill was Willington on the Tyne (Craster 'Patrimony' p.189) but in Eadred's purchase it is clearly associated with a group of villas in south-east County Durham.

(69) Hall, 'Community' p. 75 [Benwell] ; Craster, 'Patrimony' p.190.

(70) See Craster 'Patrimony' p.190.

(71) See above p.37

(72) HSC s.22 in SMO i, p.208.

(73) HSC, s. 22 in SMO, i, p.208.

(74) HSC, s. 22 and below.

(75) *Eodem tempore Edred filius Rixinci equitavit versus occidentem ultra montes, et interfecit Eardulfum principem, eiusque uxorem rapuit contra pacem et voluntatem populi, et ad patrocinium sancti Cuthberti confugit.* HSC, s. 24 in SMO, i, p. 210.

(76) *...a Cuncaceastre usque ad Dyrwente fluvium, et inde usque ad Werram versus austrum, et inde usque ad viam quae vocatur Deorestrete in occidentali parte, et villam super Tese, quae vocatur Geagenforda, et quicquid ad eam pertinet.* HSC, s. 24, in SMO, i, p. 210.

(77) *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Stevenson, (SS, vol. xiii, [1841]), p. 75.

(78) Eardulf died c. 913, (*The Chronicle of AEthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell, [Nelson's Medieval Texts], London, (1962), p. 53), and Edred at the battle of Corbridge which has been dated to c. 918. The HSC says that Edred remained in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert for three years. The chronological correlation is close enough to warrant such an identification.

(79) See, for example, D. Hall, 'Community', p. 123.

(80) W.E. Kapelle believed that Cutheard's lease to Edred was to form a 'Marcher lordship' which would defend the major routes into the Patrimony, through Tynedale, Teesdale and Weardale. It is, however, difficult to see how Edred might have defended Tynedale from the lands he was given. [*The Norman Conquest of the North*, p. 35]

(81) There is some debate over whether the battle was fought in 918 or, indeed, if there were one or two battles (916, 918) in which the combined forces of Northumbria and the kingdom of the Scots fell to the Norwegians. The main sources for the battle of Corbridge are discussed in F.T. Wainwright, 'The Battles of Corbridge', in *The Saga Book of the Viking Society*, xiii, (1950). See also C.D. Morris, 'Landholding', p. 85.

(82) HSC, s. 23 in SMO, I, p. 209.

(83) HSC, s. 23 in SMO, I, p. 209.

(84) 'Quid', inquit, 'in me potest homo iste mortuus Cuthbertus, cuius minae quotidie opponuntur? Iuro per meos potentes deos, Thor et Othan, quod ab hac inimicissimus ero omnibus vobis.' (HSC, s.23, SMO, I, p. 209).

(85) The decision of the Community to stay at Chester-le-Street despite the proximity of its enemies makes the story of the flight from Lindisfarne in arguably less volatile times, even more suspect.

(86) HSC, ss. 14-19 in SMO, I, pp. 204-207.

(87) Luisella Simpson 'The King Alfred/St Cuthbert episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: Its significance for mid-tenth-century English History', in G. Bonner et al., *St Cuthbert*, pp. 397-412; D.W. Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex: The evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183', in G. Bonner et al., *St Cuthbert*, pp. 413-424.

(88) ...*meam villam dilectam Wiremuthe australem cum suis appendiciis, id est Westun, Uffertun, Sylceswurthe, duas Reofhoppas, Byrdene, Seham, Setun, Daltun, Daldene, Hesledene*. [HSC, s. 26, SMO, I, p. 211] South Wearmouth and its dependent vills of Westoe, Offerton, Silksworth, the two Ryehopes, Burdon, Seaham, Seaton, Dalton-le-Dale, Dawdon and Cold Hesleden. (See fig. 1.1)

(89) See D.J. Hall, 'Community', pp. 72-92.

(90) D. Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *The Anglo-Saxons; Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes, (London, 1959). [Henceforth, Whitelock, 'Dealings']. W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, cap. 1.

(91) There are differing opinions as to when the Scots acquired Lothian. Professor Barrow believes that Lothian was in Scottish hands probably before 973, [*The Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 151-4] and this seems to be supported by the evidence supplied by the tract *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, discussed below. See also, B. Meehan, 'The Siege of Durham, The Battle of Carham and the Cession of Lothian', SHR, 55, (1976).

(92) A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters', SHR, 37, (1958).

(93) HDE, Lib. III, Cap. i, (SMO, I, p. 78)

(94) The Community was heading northwards from Ripon.

(95) HDE, III, i, (SMO, I, p. 79).

(96) The dates of Aldhun's episcopate are taken from the list drawn up by Janet Cooper, 'The Dates of the Bishops of Durham in the First Half of the Eleventh Century', *DUJ*, (1968), p. 137.

(97) The vills are in County Durham; Barmpton, Skerningham, Elton, Carlton, Aycliffe and Cold Hesleden.

(98) The *De Obsessione Dunelmi* is to be found in Corpus Christi College Cambridge, MS 139 along with a number of other items of Durham interest. The text was printed by Thomas Arnold in his edition of Symeon of Durham, (SMO, I, pp. 215-220), and there is a translation in C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*, (Leicester, 1975), pp. 146-50. The tract is thought to have been compiled c. 1073-76, (see B. Meehan, 'The Siege of Durham', p. 18).

(99) ...villam quae vocatur Dearthingtun, cum saca et socna. Et ego emi propria pecunia, et dedi sancto Cuthberto, iiii carucatas terrae in Cingcescliffe, et iiii in Cocertune, et iiii in Halhtune, et iii in Northmannabi, et ii in Ceattune, cum saca et socna, et ii in Lummalea, sub testimonio Ethelredi regis et Elfrici [recte Wulfstan] archiepiscopi Eboracensis, et Alduni episcopi Lindispharnensis, et Alfwoldi abbatis, qui sub episcopo erat, et illorum omnium principum qui ea die in Eboraca civitate cum rege fuerunt. HSC, s. 29, (SMO, I, pp. 212-13). Cf HDE, III, iv, in SMO, I, p. 83.

(100) Dismissa sicut dictum est episcopi filia, Ucthredus civis divitis nomine Styr filii Ulf filiam, nomine Sigen, duxit uxorem, quam pater suus ideo ei dedit ut Turbrandum sibi inimicissimum interficeret..., (De Obsessione Dunelmi, in SMO, I, p. 216).

(101) F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (3rd. ed.), p. 390, note 1.

(102) W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, pp. 17-24 for the details of the feud.

(103) For a definition of the term *Hold*, see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 509.

(104) ...unus de melioribus suis... H.H.E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', EHR, 40, (1925), p. 526.

(105) Postea vero illo, scilicet Ucthredo, proficiente magis et magis in re militari, rex Etheldredus filiam suam Elfgivam ei copulavit uxorem..., (De Obsessione Dunelmi, in SMO, I, p. 216).

(106) ...iussu vel permissu..., HR, sa 1016, in SMO, II, p. 148.

(107) De Obsessione Dunelmi, SMO, I, p. 219.

(108) Item Snaculf filius Cytel dedit hanc terram sancto Cuthberto-Brydbyrig, Mordun, et Socceburg, et Grisebi, cum saca et socna. [HSC s. 30 in SMO, I, p. 213]. The lands of Bradbury, Mordon [near Sedgefield], Sockburn and Girsby. C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*, no. 131, p. 127. Cf. Craster, RBD, p. 526.

(109) HDE, III, vi, in SMO, I, p. 85.

(110) HDE, III, vi, in SMO, I, p. 86.

(111) D. Whitelock, 'Dealings', p. 76.

(112) Edmund, (HDE, III, vi; SMO, I, p. 87); Egelric, (HDE, III, ix; SMO, I, p. 91); Egelwin, (HDE, III, xi; SMO, I, p. 94).

(113) 'Eadred, ...qui post episcopum secundus fuerat... took a large sum of money from the treasure of the church and purchased the bishopric from Hardacnut, but God struck him down as he was about to enter the church; and he died in the tenth month.' (HDE, III, ix; SMO, I, p. 91).

(114) *Item rex Cnut dedit sancto Cuthberto tempore Edmundi episcopi sicut ipsemet tenuit, cum saca et socna, villam quae vocatur Standropa cum suis apendiciis, Cnapatun, Scottun, Raby, Wacarfeld, Efenwuda, Alclit, Luteringtun, Elledun, Ingeltun, Thiccelea, et Middletun... Item Cnut rex dedit sancto Cuthberto tempore Eadmundi episcopi Bromtun cum saca et socna.* (HSC, s. 32; SMO, I, p. 213). Staindrop and its dependent villas, namely Cnapatun, West Shotton, Raby, Wackerfield, Evenwood, Bishop Auckland, Lartington, Eldon, Ingleton, Thickley and Middleton (near Auckland). See C.R. Hart, *Early Charters*, no. 132, p. 127.

(115) Aldhun leased land to three earls, Ethred, Northman and Uhtred. (HSC, s. 31; SMO, I, p. 213) The list of villas alienated from the Church occurs in HDE, III, iv (SMO, I, p. 83) and in RBD, p. 527 where it is preceded by the following ; *Sunt autem nonnullae possessiones quas Aldhunus Episcopus, sui temporis Comitibus Northanhimbrorum, dum necessitatem paterentur, ad tempus quidem prestitit; sed violencia Comitum qui eis successerunt pene omnes eas a dominio ecclesie alienavit.*

(116) Edmund was at the King's court at Gloucester when he died. HDE, III, ix; SMO, I, p. 91.

(117) For a summary of the debate over the date of the battle of Carham and the presence of an earl of Northumbria, see B. Meehan, 'The Siege of Durham', pp. 1-19.

(118) HDE, III, ix, (SMO, I, p. 91).

(119) *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, SMO, I, p. 219.

(120) W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, p. 31.

(121) *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, SMO, I, p. 219.

(122) HDE, III, ix; SMO, I, p. 91.

(123) For example, HR, sa 1054, (SMO, II, p. 171).

(124) Below, cap. 7, pp. 326-35

(125) '...[earl Tostig] always held the Church of St Cuthbert in veneration and adorned it with no small gifts, preserved within the Church even to this day.' (HDE, III, xi; SMO, I, p. 94). One of the treasures donated to St Cuthbert was a crucifix encrusted with jewels which was plundered when the Normans sacked Durham in 1070. (SMO, I, p. 101).

(126) Symeon relates the story of the Countess Judith sending a servant into the cathedral but, on setting foot in the graveyard, the girl became ill and died. It was in remorse at having offended the saint that Judith and her husband presented the crucifix mentioned above. [note 125]. HDE, III, xi; SMO, I, pp. 94-95.

(127) The Church of St Germanus at Marske in Cleveland with its endowment of 10½ carucates in Marske, 2 carucates in Thornton, 10 bovates in Tocketts, ½ carucate in (?) Redcar and one carucate in Guisborough. HDE, III, xiv, (SMO, I, p. 97). As a token that this gift had been made, Copsig presented a silver chalice to the Church. (*In cuius donationis signum etiam scyptum argentem obtulit, qui in hac ecclesia servatus, aeternam illius facti retinet memoriam.*)

(128) Symeon says that Egelric was systematically plundering the church of Durham and sending the proceeds to the monastery at Peterborough, where they were used to fund road and church building projects. (HDE, III, ix; SMO, I, p. 92). The account in RBD, p. 528 portrays Egelric under pressure from his opponents; [*Egelric*]...*videns se nullum aliunde auxilium habere, nec per se malignorum hominum violencia, qua ecclesie libertatem infestabant et infringebant, posse resistere, malens episcopatum relinquere quam propter suam imbecillitatem ecclesie libertatem et quictudinem deperire, ad monasterium proprium rediit et sine episcopatu vitam finivit.*

(129) HDE, III, ix; SMO, I, p. 92.

(130) *Suscepto episcopatu Egelwinus, nihilominus ecclesiae nihil inferre, immo multo magis quam frater eius ante illum ornamenta resque alias satagebat auferre.*, SMO, I, p. 94.

(131) During the episcopate of Edmund, a certain Gamel-Hamel was priest of the Church of Hexham. If the outlaw, Aldan-Hamal was a relative of this family, his appeal may have been made to the Community because he was kin to the priests of Hexham, one of the Church of St Cuthbert's possessions. See J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, App. iv, p. viii, and cap. 4, below.

(132) W.E. Kapelle argues that Tostig imposed taxes upon a previously fiscally privileged North. The taxation was applied to all of Northumbria thus allying traditional enemies at York and Bamburgh against Tostig. (*The Norman Conquest of the North*, pp. 95-98).

(133) ASC, ed. G.N. Garmonsway, (London, 1972), p. 192.

(134) W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, pp. 98-99.

(135) Kapelle, p. 98.

(136) Elfred intimated to his brethren that he had recovered the relics of the Venerable Bede, but '...he enjoined his friends to keep the matter quiet lest the strangers who were resident in that Church should plot some treachery; for their most anxious desire was to carry off, if it were possible, the relics of the saints and chiefly those of Bede.' (HDE, I, p. 89; Translation in J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, vol. iii, part ii, p. 679.)

(137) ...*reverendus vir Agelwinus, Dunelmensis episcopus, sancti Oswini regis quondam Berniciorum ossa, in monasterio quod iuxta ostium Tinae fluminis situm est, de tumulo levavit, transactis a sepultura eius cccc*

et xv annis, et in scrinio cum magno honore locavit. [HR, sa 1065; SMO, II, p. 171]

(138) It is difficult to see why the keepers of such celebrated relics would feel the need to hastily cobble together a collection as Kapelle suggests. It has already been argued that Cuthbert's cult was well-known in the South of England and the West Saxon Kings, themselves, may have been much involved in its promotion.

Cap. 3. ...*sicut Heli quondam propter culpas filiorum interiit, sic et iste propter peccata suorum una die cum illis prostratus occubuit.* The last Anglo-Saxon Bishops of Durham and the arrival of the Normans.

In November 1065 Tostig's government of Northumbria was brought to an end when the combined forces of Northumberland and York drove him into exile. (1) For the next fifteen years, attempts to find a solution to the problem of governing the North were met with sporadic violent revolts put down by equally ferocious punitive expeditions. Along with the throne of England, William I became heir to the dangerous situation north of the Humber. Norman policies regarding the North-East were continually modified during the period 1065-80, as first one expedient, then another, failed. Possession of the see of Durham, and with it the strongly defended strategic city, soon became a key element in Norman attempts to impose their rule.

As has been seen, (2) Tostig's rule was terminated by the combined efforts of the Northumbrians living beyond the Tyne and the men of York. Traditionally, these groups had been antagonistic towards each other, a fact which had encouraged those who sought to rule in Northumbria to play one faction off against the other. It was Tostig's error to offend both of these parties at the same time. He imposed a heavy tax which included the usually fiscally privileged men of York. This pushed York into an alliance with the Northumbrians (3) who, themselves were aggrieved, not only at the tax, but also at Tostig's murder of members of the House of Bamburgh. (4) The involvement of the Church of St Cuthbert in these events is somewhat obscure. There is no evidence in the sources that the Bishop of Durham or his retainers led, or even participated in the revolt against Tostig. Indeed, later Durham tradition remembered Tostig and his wife, the Countess Judith, as generous benefactors of the Church. (5) Judith was noted for her deep

devotion to St Cuthbert, a sentiment which brought about the death of a serving maid sent by the Countess to test Cuthbert's supposed prohibition of women from his church. (6)

The only hint of any opposition from the Church of Durham to Tostig comes from a miracle story relating to the fate of a certain Aldan-hamal. (7) This individual was imprisoned by Tostig on charges involving murder and robbery but, through the agency of St Cuthbert he escaped his prison and fled to seek sanctuary at the shrine of the saint. One of the earl's men, Barcwith, pursued Aldan-hamal to the Cathedral intending to drag him forth, but he was struck down by the saint as punishment for his impiety. If it could be shown that Aldan-hamal was a significant figure in the Northumbrian revolt of 1065, then this story would, indeed, suggest that the guardians of Cuthbert's shrine had sympathy with the rebels' cause. Despite the attempts of some historians to expand on the few lines that may be found regarding Aldan-hamal, (8) there is no evidence that he was a major figure, or even a part of the 1065 rebellion. The importance of the miracle story lies, not so much in the identity of the criminal, as in the fact that an attempt was made by Tostig's men to break the sanctuary of St Cuthbert. (9). The saint's defence of his Church's lands and privileges is a recurrent theme in the histories of Durham. There may, indeed, have been an attempt by Tostig to encroach upon the immunity of the Church, as the West Saxon earl may well have regarded the right of sanctuary as a severe abrogation of his authority in Northumbria. Alternatively, the miracle story may have been circulated to provide a warning against any such future attempted encroachment by Tostig's successors. Either way,

the story does not offer conclusive evidence for the participation of the Church of St Cuthbert in the rebellion of 1065. (10)

The revolt against Tostig did not bring about the downfall of the Bishop of Durham. Like the earl, Bishop Egelwin, who had come to Durham from the monastery of Peterborough, was an *extraneus*, an 'outsider'. It has been suggested that Egelwin's position was insecure at Durham as he was opposed by a 'native' faction within the Community of St Cuthbert led by the sacrist, Elfred Westou. (11) This argument anticipates the twelfth-century disputes between bishop and Convent but does not reflect the situation at Durham during Egelwin's pontificate. In the sources the Bishop is seen as the respected leader of the Community guiding them to safety, for example, in the winter of 1069-70 as the Norman campaign of devastation neared Durham. (12) Egelwin held his see until 1070, a fact which suggests that his position was neither as dependent upon Tostig's support, nor as threatened by malcontents within the Church at Durham as some would suggest. (13)

Tostig was replaced as earl by the Mercian nobleman Morkar, the brother of Earl Edwin, and brother-in-law to Harold Godwinson the future king. (14) The choice of a Mercian, another 'outsider', as earl seems, at first sight, to be a reimposition of southern control in Northumbria. This is surprising, especially when it is known that the Northumbrians themselves nominated Morkar and had their choice confirmed by King Edward. (15) The significance of Morkar's appointment has been interpreted in a number of ways. It has been argued, for example, that Morkar was the logical choice in that, as an 'outsider', he would continue to hold the factions of York and Northumbria together. He had no associations with either the House of Bamburgh or members of the York

faction; no connections which might be seen by one side or the other as a threat to their independence. (16) As a member of the Mercian comital dynasty, Morkar was also a rival to Tostig's family, the Godwinsons. Indeed, it is likely that Tostig's own appointment to the earldom of Northumbria had been gained at the expense of the Mercians.

Wilkinson saw the Northumbrians' choice of Morkar as an expression of a desire for national unity. Realising that the North could no longer survive as a independent entity, an alliance was sought with Mercia which would bind the region more firmly into the national framework of Anglo-Saxon England. In seeking King Edward's approval of their choice, the rebels of 1065 were acknowledging his authority over them. Although Tostig was the king's representative in the North, the dissidents claimed that their grievance was centred on the earl's misuse of royal authority, and not the mere existence of that authority. (17)

There is reason to believe that Morkar was accepted in the North because his ambitions to rule there were limited. Although there is no indication of a date, the chronicle produced at Durham known as the *Historia Regum* says that, '...Morkar, being burdened with other weighty matters, handed over the earldom beyond the Tyne to the young Osulf, son of the aforementioned earl Radulf.' (18) The 'weighty matters' mentioned by the chronicler were probably the campaigns of 1066 against the Norwegians and the Normans in which Morkar was directly involved and which would have kept him away from the region in question. (19) Osulf was, therefore, to be given control of the traditional sphere of influence of the House of Bamburgh. At least to the Northumbrians living beyond the Tyne, Morkar was not going to pose the same sort of threat as Tostig and his lieutenant Copsig had done. It seems unlikely that a

similar appointment was made at York, if only because York's position as the pivot of the northern campaigns of 1066 would require Morkar's presence thus eclipsing the authority of any appointment he may have made to balance that of Osulf. (20) It is uncertain as to how soon after his acquisition of the earldom, in November 1065, Morkar relinquished control of the northern part. In any case the events of 1066 were to eclipse, for the moment, any problems that he may have faced in this region.

Edward the Confessor's death at the beginning of January 1066 brought Harold, earl of Wessex to the throne. The new king's brother, Tostig, was not, however, restored to the Northumbrian earldom. As a consequence, the exiled earl began to raid England and, on 24 April 1066, he landed on the Isle of Wight to plunder before moving east along the coast to Sandwich. (21) The principal northern sources for the year 1066 deal with Harold's campaign against his brother. The King was portrayed by the author of the *Historia Regum* as a just ruler striving to reform the law, protect the church and defend the realm against outlaws and the attacks of foreigners. (22) Tostig's threat was met with swift responses to his raiding as Harold assembled an army and a fleet. When it was made known to Tostig that Harold was approaching Sandwich, he decamped and made for Lindsey where, again, he plundered the countryside. Tostig's purpose in these plundering raids may have been simply to create as much havoc as possible whilst avoiding meeting his brother's forces in a pitched battle. He may have hoped that Harold would seek to buy him off and the price he would ask would be the return of his earldom. (23)

Tostig's activities in Lindsey were curtailed by the combined actions of Edwin and Morkar who managed to drive the renegade into Scotland. The narrative accounts for the remainder of 1066 are dominated by Harold's campaigns against Harold Hardrada and Duke William of Normandy. The Durham sources, apart from the *Historia Regum* which, for this period was based on the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* of Florence of Worcester, (24) deal only perfunctorily with the invasions of the Norwegians and Normans, noting merely Harold's defeat at the battle of Hastings and Duke William's acquisition of the English throne. (25)

The role of Osulf in the events of 1066 is unclear, but the 'Northumbrians' are mentioned opposing Tostig in Lindsey. (26) The *Historia Regum* states that, after Harold Hardrada had sailed across the North Sea, Tostig met him at the mouth of the Tyne and joined his expedition. The combined force then proceeded to the Humber and, by way of the Ouse, entered York. The subsequent events are familiar; the Norwegians were challenged unsuccessfully by Edwin and Morkar at Fulford near York before Harold arrived to defeat them at Stamford Bridge a few days later. Harold Hardrada and Tostig both perished in the latter encounter. (26)

Harold's battle with William at Hastings is described in heroic terms by the *Historia Regum* which preserves the pro-Anglo-Saxon bias of the Worcester chronicle. (27) Edwin and Morkar along with several other English nobles, including Archbishop Aldred of York, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, Walter, Bishop of Hereford, Edgar the Atheling and the leaders of the city of London, surrendered to William at Berkhamstead. (28) The *Historia Regum* then goes on to relate the story of Harold's oath to William, the breaking of which justified the Norman

invasion, and concludes its account of the events of 1066 by saying that

'...the victory which they gained was truly and without doubt to be ascribed to the judgement of God; who, by punishing the crime of perjury, showed that He was a God who would not look upon iniquity.' (29)

It is not clear how William's victory was greeted in Durham or in Northumbria in general. There was, apparently, no attempt by the populace to take flight or organise resistance. With the exceptions of Osulf and Bishop Egelwin, the leaders of Northumbrian society had capitulated to William by Christmas 1066, and, at some time before Lent, 1067, William returned to Normandy taking with him several hostages including earl Morkar. It was probably at this stage that William I committed Morkar's earldom to Copsig who had been Tostig's factotum in Northumbria. On the whole, like his patron, Copsig was remembered favourably by the historians of the Church of Durham. His gifts to the St Cuthbert were recorded by the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* (30) and the later *Historia Regum* described him as '... a man of discretion and skill.' (31) Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* specifically says that Copsig was given control over '...the men north of the Tyne' (32), the same area that had been ruled for Morkar by Osulf. (33) Presumably, Osulf had refused to submit to William and had been declared an outlaw, in which case Copsig's first task would have been to capture or eliminate his rival. (34)

There is some ambiguity in the sources over the political configuration of the North in the eleventh century. This has caused some confusion amongst historians in their use of the term 'Northumbria.' It may be as well to clarify this matter before proceeding with the discussion of William I's provisions for the government of the North.

Again and again in the chronicles of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the river Tyne appears as a boundary. Clearly in the minds of contemporaries the area between the Humber and the Tweed was not thought of as a single territorial unit. As has been seen (35), the members of Church of St Cuthbert had been assiduous in recording the various grants of lands and privileges which were made to them by those who claimed to rule in the North. The Patrimony of St Cuthbert was built up from the late seventh century onward until, by the middle of the eleventh it was concentrated on estates lying between the rivers Tyne and Tees, with outlying blocks of property in Lothian, the north of modern Northumberland, and some smaller units in Yorkshire. (36) By the time of Tostig's appointment to the earldom there does not seem to have been any doubt that the authority of the earl of Northumbria extended, at least in theory, over the lands of St Cuthbert. Tostig associated himself closely with the Church of Durham, making gifts to Cuthbert's Community and working in partnership with Bishop Egelwin. (37) Tostig also had ambitions to rule beyond the Tyne as his attempt to eliminate his rivals, members of the House of Bamburgh, shows. Finally, it was Tostig's imposition of a general taxation on the 'whole of Northumbria' which produced the alliance of Bamburgh and York which precipitated his downfall. (38)

Tostig's view of the North was not, however, that which had prevailed until the appointment of his predecessor Siward. Ultimately, the divisions of Northumbria may be traced to the boundary between the ancient kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. The close association between the Church of St Cuthbert and the various political powers in the North provides clues as to where this boundary lay. Durham's historical

tradition held that it was the Danish ruler of York, Guthred, who granted St Cuthbert the lands which lay between the Tyne and the Tees. (39) At the same time as this grant was made a certain Egbert was ruling the 'Northumbrians' (40). As Guthred seems to have held sway over the North as far as the Tyne, it is reasonable to suppose that Egbert ruled that part of Northumbria which lay to the north of that river. By the time of the West Saxon annexation of Northumbria there were three broad political divisions of the land to the north of the Humber. In the far north, there was the territory lying between the Tweed and the Tyne over which the comital House of Bamburgh held sway. To the south lay the heartlands of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert between the Tyne and the Tees. Finally, the southern section of Northumbria was ruled from York. Occasionally one of the two political factions held sway over its rival (41), but it was not until earl Siward conquered the land beyond the Tyne and extended his influence into Scotland (42), that the whole of the North could be said to form one political unit. In many ways it was the tension between Bamburgh and York which enabled Siward to remain in power. His influence was felt in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert when, largely through his support Egelric became Bishop of Durham. (43) Tostig's failure to maintain the edifice created by Siward has been outlined above (44) and it is against this background that William's appointment of Copsig must be judged.

Copsig was a native of York and was in possession of estates in North Yorkshire (45), some of which he donated to St Cuthbert. The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* stated that, under Tostig, Copsig was put in charge of the whole of the earldom, presumably to ensure continuity of government whilst Tostig was elsewhere. (46) The House of Bamburgh

resented Tostig's rule but, with the loss of its leading figures, it could do nothing alone. Tostig and Copsig seem to have been successful in currying favour at Durham and there is nothing to suggest that resentment against their rule was promoted amongst the Northumbrians by the guardians of St Cuthbert. The history of the Church of Durham indicates that the Community favoured stable government whether that was provided by Northumbrian, Dane or West Saxon. Stability favoured the development and protection of St Cuthbert's wealth. Tostig's fall brought about a reassertion of the claims of the various political groupings of Northumbria. The House of Bamburgh represented by Osulf sought to rule above the Tyne, the Church of St Cuthbert was thrown on to the defensive, and the men of York were prepared to seize any opportunity that appeared to offer them self determination.

The Norman Conquest offered the prospect of furthering these claims but, in the eyes of William I they must have seemed a dangerous threat to his authority, presenting the possibility of a separate state in the North. Aldred, Archbishop of York and earl Morkar had surrendered to William in 1066 and may have convinced the Conqueror that the men of York would acquiesce in his rule. If this was the case, then Copsig's appointment in 1067 to govern the Northumbrians 'north of the Tyne' was the first attempt by William to have his rule acknowledged in the far north of his kingdom. In Durham, and the lands of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert the Conqueror's authority was already recognised and there was no attempt to remove the Bishop. As will be suggested, the Church of St Cuthbert and the *Haliwerfolc* seem not to have offered armed resistance against the Normans and their appointees to the earldom of the Northumbrians. (47)

Copsig's appointment was a logical expedient as he had already had experience of governing the North, an advantage no Norman would have. The new earl's commission lasted a little over four weeks. According to the *Historia Regum* he was granted Osulf's earldom and then proceeded to Northumberland to eliminate his opponent. (48) Osulf went into hiding in the mountains and woods, avoiding Copsig's patrols until he obtained an opportunity of murdering the earl. This came whilst Copsig and his men were feasting at Newburn (49). Osulf and other disaffected Northumbrians descended on the gathering but, amid the confusion, Copsig escaped to the local church. Osulf's men fired the building and when Copsig emerged from the inferno, Osulf beheaded him. (50) The chronicle dates Copsig's death precisely to the 'fourth of the ides of March' (12 March 1067), which suggests that his appointment was made in mid-February, the very time that William was leaving for Normandy with his hostages, amongst whom was Morkar. (51) William's initial attempt to impose his authority upon Northumbria had failed and had suggested to those living beyond the Tyne that the new regime was as much a threat to their independence as that of Siward and Tostig had been.

Osulf's murder of Copsig brought no retaliation from William I or his regents in England, probably because they had to deal with a series of other problems. In the West, a revolt centred on Herefordshire in August 1067 involving Edric the Wild in alliance with the Welsh kings Blethgent and Ritwad occupied the attention of Odo of Bayeux and William fitz Osbern. (52) On his return from Normandy, late in 1067, William was faced with a rebellion at Exeter which may have been precipitated by the 'insufferable tax' he imposed. (53) It is unlikely, however, that the Northumbrians were affected by this fiscal exaction as there is no

evidence that William was prepared to intervene in the affairs of the North before 1068.

Osulf of Bamburgh met his death at an unspecified date between Copsig's murder in March 1067 and the autumn of that year, when he was run through by the lance of a robber who he was trying to apprehend. (54) It was presumably on William's return from the Continent, December 1067, that Cospatric purchased the earldom of Northumbria. Cospatric had a claim to the earldom through his mother, Algitha, daughter of earl Uhtred and his wife Algiva, daughter of King Ethelred II. (55) Uhtred had given his daughter in marriage to Maldred. (56) Cospatric thus had connections with the House of Bamburgh, making his position in the North, at least in theory, much more secure than his immediate predecessor.

In the Spring of 1068 Matilda was brought over from Normandy and crowned by Archbishop Aldred on Whitsunday (11 May). 'After this,' noted the *Historia Regum*, 'Marleswen, Cospatric, and some nobles of the Northumbrian race, to avoid the severity of the king and, dreading that, like others they might be put in confinement, taking with them Edgar Atheling, Agatha his mother with his two sisters Margaret and Christina, went by sea to Scotland and there, by Malcolm's favour spent the winter.' (57) For some reason then, Cospatric abandoned his earldom after only a few months in charge. The most obvious reason for the flight of the English nobles would have been the failure of a revolt. W.E. Kapelle fleshed out the reference in the *Historia Regum* by suggesting that William's imposition of his second geld during the period between December 1067 and March 1068, provoked a defiance of his authority in the North. The revolt, led by Edwin and Morkar and joined

by Cospatric and Marleswen collapsed as William's army approached York and the leaders made their way to Malcolm III.

Orderic Vitalis recorded that the Scots king agreed to swear fealty to William I and provided hostages as security. (58) It is significant that the ambassador to Malcolm's court was Egelwin, Bishop of Durham. According to Orderic, Egelwin had already capitulated to William, perhaps at the same time as his metropolitan in 1066. Egelwin had performed similar ambassadorial duties for Edward the Confessor (59) and his commission on this occasion would seem to suggest that Durham had stood apart from the revolt of 1068. Certainly Egelwin's subsequent actions suggest that he had little sympathy with the rebels' cause. If the purpose of the Bishop's mission was to secure the surrender of the Anglo-Saxon fugitives, then it was unsuccessful for those named above reappeared at the head of the more serious rebellion of 1069.

At the end of 1068 William I had advanced only as far as York, making no attempt to subdue Northumberland. As Bishop Egelwin had submitted to him and performed a mission on his behalf, it is probable that he did not consider Durham and the *Haliwerfolc* as a threat. The events of 1069, however, involved the Church of St Cuthbert directly and, indeed, in the opinion of one commentator (60), Durham was the fountain of rebellion. After his relatively easy suppression of the uprising of 1068, William decided to extend his control over the northernmost section of his realm. Cospatric had forfeited his earldom by retreating to Scotland during the summer of 1068 and had, according to the chronicles, spent the winter at Malcolm's court. In his place William appointed a certain Robert Cumin or 'de Comines' to the earldom of Northumbria, but, on their arrival in the North, Robert and his men

were murdered in Durham in January 1069. Once again, there has been some debate over the area of Robert's jurisdiction. The uncertainty stems from the ambiguous nature of the sources. Orderic Vitalis, for example, stated, *Anno tertio regni sui Guillelmus rex Dunelmensem comitatum Rodberto de Cumines tradidit.* (61) The suggestion is that earl Robert was put in charge of the County of Durham. Orderic's account adds that earl Robert was murdered by the *cives*, which can only mean the citizens of Durham. Dr Marjorie Chibnall's note on this passage in her edition of Orderic's *Historia Ecclesiastica* does not make the situation any clearer. She noted that there is ambiguity over Orderic's use of the terms *comitatum* and *consulatum*. There is no way of knowing whether Orderic himself meant to imply a distinction or whether he was simply employing a synonym as a rhetorical device. (62) W.E. Kapelle followed the account in Orderic's *Historia* and stated that, '...the residents of Durham...devised a strategem to deal with the invaders,' which clearly implicates the *cives* of Durham in earl Robert's murder. It is likely, however, that Kapelle was not clear on this matter as, a little later, he remarked that, '...Bishop AEthelwine warned him [Robert Cumin] upon his arrival that the Northumbrians were laying a trap.' (63) This interpretation makes no distinction between the inhabitants of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, the *Haliwerfolc* and the Northumbrians, who were, presumably, those who lived beyond the Tyne. This may be intentional ambiguity but, if so, it is not supported by the sources produced at Durham in the early twelfth century.

The *Historia Regum* stated that Robert Cumin was appointed to the earldom 'north of the Tyne', which was the area governed by the House of Bamburgh. (64) Orderic's statement may have been prompted by the

knowledge that it was at Durham that the Normans met their deaths. The city, with its well-fortified situation would have been the natural place for Robert's troops to rest before their advance towards Northumberland and the fact that Robert stopped here does not necessarily indicate that he regarded Durham as the *caput* of his earldom. Orderic's account may also have been influenced by his knowledge of Marcher earldoms on the border with Wales. (65) Robert's commission could indeed have been interpreted as that of establishing a March in Northumberland. In 1069 there was, apart from Durham, no suitable stronghold for the Normans in the North-East. It is true that beyond the Tyne lay Bamburgh, the ancient fortress of the kings and earls of Northumbria, but Robert could not have been sure of a welcome there and his army of seven hundred (66) was not large enough to conduct a prolonged siege campaign in mid-winter. Thus earl Robert's final destination lay north of the Tyne, and his sojourn with Bishop Egelwin at Durham was meant only as a necessary halt on the road to his earldom.

As earl Robert and his men approached Durham, they were met by Bishop Egelwin who warned them of the plans of the Northumbrians. Robert ignored the Bishop's admonition and proceeded to Durham. The sources give two reasons for the earl's contempt for Egelwin's advice. Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* suggested that Robert was at the head of an army which he funded through licensed brigandage. This may mean nothing more than that the Normans, like most invading armies, seized plunder as they made their way northwards. On the other hand the earl may have been leading a troop of mercenaries. Robert himself may have come from the town of Comines near Lille in Flanders, as Orderic's rendering of his name would suggest. (67) The Flemish mercenaries hired

by the Normans were often employed on the borders of the kingdom and, for example, spearheaded the advance into South and West Wales. (68) It would not, therefore, be unusual to find them entrusted with the task of subduing the North-East. The *Historia Regum* merely stated that earl Robert disregarded Egelwin's warning because he refused to believe that anyone would be so daring as to oppose his army. (69)

Both of the Durham sources name the 'Northumbrians' as the assailants of the Normans. The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* described how, when the Northumbrians learnt of the earl's arrival, their first thought was to take flight. Heavy snowstorms forced them back and so they decided to oppose and kill the Normans or die in the attempt. (70) The *Historia Regum* recorded that '...they [the Northumbrians on the north side of the Tyne] all united in one accord not to submit to a foreign lord, and determined that they would put him to death or that they would fall together by the sword.' (71)

Robert's men plundered on their way towards Durham and continued doing so once they had taken up their quarters in the city itself. Despite this the Bishop received the earl cordially and installed him in the episcopal palace. (72) During the night of 27-28 January 1069, the Northumbrians marched to Durham and burst through the gates at dawn, slaughtering the earl's men and trapping Robert in the Bishop's house. As they were being beaten off by the defenders, the Northumbrians decided to force the earl out by burning the house. Symeon utilises this dramatic incident to further St Cuthbert's reputation for miracle-working. According to the monk's account sparks from the burning house were carried dangerously close to the towers of the cathedral. The citizens of Durham prayed for Cuthbert's help and were rewarded when the

thaumaturge conjured up an east wind to keep the flames from his church. (73) The flames did, however, engulf the refuge of the Normans and, as they emerged they were cut down. (74)

No mention was made of the Bishop's actions during the massacre, although it is difficult to see how he might have prevented it. The perpetrators of the murders were the Northumbrians from north of the Tyne. The narrow streets, unfamiliar to the Normans would have been the ideal place in which to surprise the earl and his men and a similar tactic was to be used at York later that year. The citizens of Durham would have been unlikely to have aided those who had so recently maltreated them although the sources do not explicitly state that they took an active part in the slaughter. Of course it is possible that those writing in twelfth-century Durham would be likely to want to distance the inhabitants and the Church of St Cuthbert from such an open act of rebellion but, as has been seen, the leaders of the Community of St Cuthbert had shown a willingness to recognise the authority of the king and his representatives in the North. At the time of the massacre the inhabitants of Durham had nothing to gain from defying the Conqueror. Egelwin had already submitted to William and his mission to Scotland suggests that the king looked upon the Bishop as an ally in the North. (75) All the sources produced at Durham agree that some sort of warning was delivered by Egelwin prior to the earl's arrival in Durham. This was, indeed, the action of a man anxious to serve the interests of his lord. It might be argued, however, that Egelwin's complicity in the massacre is proved by the fact that he led the flight of the Community of St Cuthbert to Lindisfarne at the end of 1069.

There is a problem with the argument that the Bishop's part in the murders was deliberately obscured so as not to reflect badly on the Church of St Cuthbert. The attitude of the Durham sources towards Egelwin was ambivalent; he was neither wholly vilified nor was he presented as a figure without fault. For example, Symeon accuses Egelwin of absconding with treasure from St Cuthbert's church when he fled the bishopric in the Spring of 1070.(76) This very ambivalence in the sources suggests that the Community of St Cuthbert's flight from Durham to Lindisfarne was prompted not by an admission of guilt but by a realisation that any punitive expedition to the North-East would not necessarily be able to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent.(77) The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* reported that William I did, indeed, despatch a punitive force soon after the massacre but it turned back after a thick mist descended upon it at Northallerton in Yorkshire. This was interpreted as the work of St Cuthbert and Symeon has one of the Norman soldiers explaining that, '...the inhabitants had a saint of their own in their chief town, who always protected them in their adversities, and whom no man could, at any time, injure without incurring his vengeance.'(78) The force sent to avenge Robert Cumin's death may have indeed turned back before reaching the bishopric of Durham but for less mysterious reasons.

The massacre at Durham has been seen as the signal for the beginning of the great Northern rebellion of 1069. Several of the sources make the attack on York follow on immediately after Cumin's demise.(79) The *Historia Regum*, however, records the arrival of the Danish fleet at the mouth of the Humber as being in early September 1069. There the sons of Swein of Denmark were met by Edgar the Atheling,

earl Waltheof, Marleswen and Cospatric, 'with the whole strength of the Northumbrians'. (80) The events of the Spring and Summer of 1069 may be supplied from Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica* which is thought to preserve the concluding section of William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guillelmi*. William of Poitiers was in a good position to report on William I's campaign of 1069-70 and, Orderic is, therefore, a most valuable source for this period. (81) Shortly after the events at Durham, Robert fitz Richard, the governor of York was killed by the Northumbrians who then marched on the city. (82) The first attack on the Norman garrison occurred not in September, as the *Historia Regum* suggests, but in the Spring. The castellan of York, William Malet sent word to William I of the rebels' approach and the King hurried northward. After routing the Northumbrians and spending eight days strengthening the fortifications at York, the Conqueror returned to Winchester for Easter. The rebels reassembled and once more attacked the city only to be beaten off by William fitz Osbern whom William had left in command.

The conjunction of the Danish fleet and the Northumbrian army on 8 September 1069 threatened William's rule in the North. Both Swein of Denmark and Edgar the Atheling, who had joined the rebels, had a claim to the English throne. (83) The garrison at York prepared for the attack by burning the houses adjacent to the castles, but the conflagration spread and destroyed most of the city including the abbey of St Peter. On Monday 21 September the rebels entered York killing the entire garrison with the exception of William Malet, his wife and children, Gilbert de Gant and a very few others. William I now faced a hostile force occupying York with a Danish fleet in support. His

solution to the problem was to split up the enemy alliance by offering the Danes booty if they would agree to abandon the rebels, (84) and to embark upon a campaign of devastation.

As well as the uprising in the North, William faced outbreaks of rebellion in Dorset and Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, and on the Welsh border at Shrewsbury. Each of these revolts was put down by William or his lieutenants until, by the Winter of 1069-70, the King could concentrate his resources upon the Northumbrian revolt. The results of the Norman march north are well known and the so-called 'Harrying of the North' has become a by-word for Norman ruthlessness. Historians have made much of the social and economic effects of the campaign of 1069-70, pointing to the frequent occurrences of *vasta* in the folios of Yorkshire Domesday as evidence of widespread destruction. (85) The destruction of livestock, crops, grain-stores and agricultural tools was important, but it was the slaughter of the peasants and the demographic crisis which that engendered which had the most crucial effect upon the economy of the North. As the *Historia Regum* reported the Normans induced an artificial famine in the region and reduced it to desolation;

'...the land being thus deprived of anyone to cultivate it for nine years, an extensive desert prevailed on every side. There was no village inhabited between York and Durham; they became the homes of wild beasts and robbers, and were a source of great fear for travellers.' (86)

Agricultural implements could be replaced relatively quickly and crops could be grown within one or two years, but only if there were sufficient numbers of peasants working the land. The nine year period of

recovery mentioned by the author of the *Historia Regum* gives some idea of the effect which William's campaign had on the economy of the North in the 1070s.

The Domesday survey did not extend to the lands of the Church of St Cuthbert beyond the Tees, or to the modern county of Northumberland. As a consequence it is not possible to use the indications of waste villages or drop in land values to give some idea of the extent of the devastation caused by William's troops in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. The Bishop of Durham's estates in North Yorkshire suffered the same fate as much of that county. The following table of the values of the Bishop's manors in 1066 and 1086 needs little comment on the severity of the effects which it portrays:

fig. 3.1, Value of the Lands of the Bishop of Durham in Yorkshire. (87)

| Manor | Value 1066 | Value 1086 | Value 1086 as % of 1066 value. |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| Welton | £20 | £13 | 65 |
| Howden | £40 | £12 | 30 |
| Newton [Gardham] | £6 | waste | |
| Hutton/Howgrave | £10 | 50s. | 25 |
| Crayke | 40s | 20s | 50 |
| Sessay | 60s | 20s | 33 |
| Knayton | 20s | 20s | 100 |
| Brompton | 40s | waste | |
| Girsby | 10s | waste | |
| Deighton | 20s | waste | |
| Winton | 30s | waste | |

The table shows that the Bishop of Durham's estates in Yorkshire had suffered badly during the Harrying of the North. Of the eleven manors for which figures for both 1066 and 1086 are available, approximately

80 percent suffered a fall in value of a half or more, and of these manors over half were waste in 1086. If this pattern was repeated within the Patrimony of St Cuthbert then the Church of Durham suffered a catastrophic decline in the value of its estates as a result of the Norman campaign of 1069-70. It is, however, unlikely that the Church's properties in Northumbria suffered to the same extent as their distance from York and even Durham would probably have saved them from as thorough a devastation as those in Yorkshire and the lands between the Tyne and Tees had suffered.

William I spent Christmas of 1069 at York where he underlined his authority in a crown-wearing ceremony. The rebel army had largely dispersed whilst those of the inhabitants of the North-East who escaped the Norman sword took to the hills and forests or fled further northwards. The Northumbrian leader, Cospatric made his way to Bamburgh, stopping at Durham to warn Bishop Egelwin of the devastation which the Conqueror was likely to inflict on his bishopric. (88) In January 1070, William set out in pursuit of the last remnants of the rebel army. A group of the Northumbrians were encamped near Coatham on the Tees (89) and William dealt with them before crossing into the bishopric: It is probable that Cospatric and Waltheof surrendered to William whilst he was at Coatham, although Cospatric made his submission by proxy, preferring to remain at Bamburgh rather than risk imprisonment. (90)

In December 1069 Cospatric conveyed the news of the rebels' defeat to Bishop Egelwin. He described the Harrying of Yorkshire and advised the Community of St Cuthbert to leave Durham. (91) The Bishop and elders of the Church took counsel and decided that their best course of action was to make for the comparative safety of Lindisfarne. As has been

argued above, (92) their decision to leave Durham should not be seen as an indication of their involvement in the murder of Robert Cumin. Cospatric's account of the events in Yorkshire probably stressed that the Norman tactics were indiscriminate and that protestations of innocence served no purpose. The *Historia Regum* stated that the decision to abandon Durham was taken through the fear that,

'...on account both of the slaughter of the earl and of the Normans at York, the King's sword should despatch equally the innocent and the guilty in indiscriminate slaughter.' (93)

The details of the Community's journey were carefully recorded. Durham was abandoned on Friday 11 December and the refugees reached Lindisfarne on the following Tuesday. The party had travelled by way of the Church's estates at Jarrow, Bedlington, and Tughall. On reaching the shore opposite the island, Bishop Egelwin and his companions found to their dismay that the tide was high and covering the causeway. Once again, according to Symeon, St Cuthbert displayed his control over the forces of nature, causing the tide to retreat before the fugitives and then close in behind them once they had passed. (94)

Another miracle story preserved at Durham suggests that the Community met some opposition from those living to the north of the Tyne. A certain powerful man by the name of Gillomichael harassed the refugees on their journey to Lindisfarne. Cospatric, too, was reviled for using the desertion of the Church of Durham as an opportunity for plunder. According to the miracle story, the Bishop sent a certain priest named Earnanus back to Durham to find out how things were progressing. On his way south he dreamt that he had been transported to

Durham cathedral where St Cuthbert and St Oswald had appeared to him. Cuthbert cried out 'Woe to thee Cospatric ! You have robbed our Church of her possessions and made it into a desert !' Barnanus was then taken to the south side of the city where he was shown a valley filled with souls being tormented by demons. In the midst of the scene lay Gillomichael being repeatedly pierced with a scythe. On awakening, Barnanus decided to report his vision to the Bishop and en route discovered that Gillomichael had died. Cospatric, too, was informed of Cuthbert's displeasure, and, in order to make amends the earl made a barefoot pilgrimage to Lindisfarne. Symeon completed his account of the miracle by stating, somewhat inaccurately, that, despite his penance, Cospatric never again recovered his position of influence but, instead, was forced into exile to spend the rest of his life in misfortune and adversity. (95)

Symeon's story may disguise significant elements of the Harrying of Durham in the first months of 1070. First of all it is clear that the Community of St Cuthbert was made unwelcome when it ventured into Northumbria, indeed Gillomichael may represent the Northumbrian nobility who saw, in Egelwin's warning to Robert Cumin, a treacherous betrayal of the Northumbrian cause. Cospatric, too, was remembered by Durham tradition as an enemy of the Church, for the meaning of Cuthbert's words in Barnanus' dream seem to be that, after advising the Community to abandon Durham, Cospatric plundered the city. Whether he did this as William's agent after the two had been reconciled, or whether he was held responsible for the subsequent depredations of the Normans is not clear. The passage seems to indicate that, at the time of the defeat of the Northern revolt of 1069-70, the Church of St Cuthbert

at Durham was in an invidious position. On the one side it faced the Normans who may have believed that Bishop Egelwin had been party to the murder of Robert Cumin, whilst, on the other side, the Northumbrians attacked the members of the Community as traitors to the native cause. Symeon reported that when the Conqueror heard of the plundering of the Church of St Cuthbert, he ordered that the culprits should be captured and surrendered to the Bishop for punishment. It is no wonder that, in the circumstances, Egelwin decided to treat the prisoners leniently. (96)

As William's men made their way through the Patrimony of St Cuthbert they found many of the villages deserted. It is not recorded that the Normans entered the city of Durham on this occasion but it seems likely that it was during the march from the Tees to Hexham that the church of St Paul at Jarrow was destroyed. (97) William's troops followed the south bank of the Tyne west to Hexham before returning through rugged country to York. (98) It was not until late March 1070 that the Community felt that it was safe to return to Durham. The sight which greeted them was described by the author of the *Historia Regum*,

...the Church of Durham, deprived of all care and ecclesiastical service, became a den for the poor, the infirm, and the sick, who no longer being able to fly, there lay perishing of hunger and disease. (99)

After cleansing the church, the Community rededicated it and restored St Cuthbert's body to the shrine. Although we have no way of assessing the effects of the devastation of Durham in material terms, it is clear that, to later historians at Durham the destruction caused by the Normans was every bit as severe as that caused elsewhere in the north, even allowing for monastic exaggeration. The burning of St Paul's

Jarrow and the plundering of Durham cathedral seemed especially shocking to Symeon and his fellows. (100) Bishop Egelwin's policy of favouring the nascent Norman regime had backfired during the Winter of 1069-70. The murder of Robert Cumin suggested to the Conqueror that Egelwin had some sympathy for the Northumbrian cause, whilst his warning to the earl marked him down as a collaborator in the eyes of the rebels. It seems easy to understand why, in the Spring or Summer of 1070, Egelwin decided to leave Durham and make for the Continent, especially when Malcolm III of Scotland added to the misery of the North-East of England by staging another invasion.

If Malcolm III's attack was intended to support the Northern revolt, then it came too late. It seems more likely, however, that the Scots king saw an opportunity of making capital out of the breakdown of order in the North. Malcolm's attack came from Cumbria in the west and was directed, at first, towards Teesdale and Cleveland. From there the Scots plundered Hartness and moved up the coast towards Wearmouth, where the church of St Peter was burnt. It seems unlikely that there was much booty to be had after the Norman campaign of the previous Winter and the Scots expedition became a slaving raid. Some resistance to the invasion was offered by Cospatric who crossed into Cumbria provoking a violent retaliation from Malcolm. In the midst of these events, Egelwin decided to abandon the bishopric.

The late eleventh and early twelfth-century historiographical tradition at Durham treated the last two Anglo-Saxon bishops with a certain ambivalence. The brothers Egelric and Egelwin had arrived in the North-East in the early 1020s, accompanying Bishop Edmund who wished them to instruct him in the monastic life. The brothers acted as the

bishop's deputies and may have performed duties akin to those of the later archdeacons. (101) Egelric, who succeeded Edmund, resigned his bishopric in 1056 and retired to his former home, the monastery of Peterborough. (102) There are differing accounts of Egelric's decision to resign. The version preserved in the chronicle compiled by the pre-monastic Community at Durham suggested that Egelric was unable to resist certain unnamed assailants of the liberties and privileges of St Cuthbert's church and, as a consequence, thought it better to withdraw. (103) Symeon's view, representing the officially sanctioned opinion of the Benedictine Convent, was that Egelric had absconded with treasure belonging to the Church of St Cuthbert, which had been discovered at Chester-le-Street during some preparatory excavations for the foundations of a stone church there. (104) According to Symeon, Egelwin was no better; he, too, made off with property belonging to St Cuthbert. Later, he was imprisoned by the Conqueror for this theft which he denied strenuously on oath until a stolen armlet slipped into view whilst he was washing his hands one day. Despite this, Symeon does not seem to have been consistently critical of Egelwin since he allows him to be the guardian of St Cuthbert's body on the journey to Lindisfarne in 1069, and even involves him in a miracle performed by the saint. (105) Details concerning the death of Robert Cumin, particularly the fact that the murder took place in the episcopal palace, were also omitted by Symeon. The dilemma facing the monastic chronicler was that the Anglo-Saxon bishops represented a regime which had been replaced at Durham. This regime was also inferior in that it was not a monastic convent, yet, Egelric and Egelwin had been bishops of the Church of St Cuthbert, inheritors and guardians of a tradition which Symeon and his fellow

monks usurped. The ambivalence displayed in Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesia* reflects this situation; they were critical of their immediate predecessors at Durham but could not condemn them completely.

The *Historia Regum*, following more closely the sentiments of the pre-monastic chronicle, had a more sympathetic picture of Egelwin. To begin with the Bishop was described as *reverendus vir* when he officiated at the translation of the relics of St Oswin in 1065. (106) Egelwin left Durham in 1070 because, having witnessed the disorder into which the Anglo-Saxon kingdom had fallen, he did not wish to '...live among foreigners with whose language and customs he was unfamiliar.' (107) Perhaps Egelwin expected to be degraded from his bishopric at the Winchester council of 1070, especially after the events of the previous twelve months. (108)

Egelwin had a ship provisioned at Wearmouth ready for his departure from the North-East. The sources agree that his initial plan was to escape to Cologne but contrary winds blew the vessel back to Scotland. The *Historia Regum* records that Edgar the Atheling's party also fetched up on the shores of Malcolm's realm and it was then that the Scots king married Edgar's sister Margaret. There is the possibility that Egelwin was travelling as part of Edgar's company, in which case he may have fallen in with the exiled English nobles at the Scottish court. (109) Egelwin had done as much as he had felt possible to ensure the survival of the Church of St Cuthbert during the campaigns of the Normans in the North-East. His endeavours had been undermined by the actions of the Northumbrians beyond the Tyne and Egelwin had been forced to acknowledge that he could no longer expect to retain his control of Durham.

Egelwin's actions prior to his departure from Durham in the Spring of 1070 suggest that he tried to reach an accommodation with the Norman regime and that he was a loyal supporter of the Conqueror. This interpretation would seem to be compromised by the Bishop's appearance at the siege of Ely during the Winter of 1070-71.

The Anglo-Saxon resistance focused on the shrine of St Etheldreda at Ely has become the most celebrated reaction to the Norman occupation, largely because one of the leaders, Hereward, has achieved an almost legendary status. (110) There is evidence to suggest that the Community of the Church of St Etheldreda actively involved their saint's cult in the rebellion, requiring, for example, that potential participants in the uprising should swear allegiance to their fellows on the relics of the church. (111) During the the latter part of 1070 many of the surviving leaders of the Anglo-Saxon resistance collected at Ely. Amongst them was Morkar who had left William I's court with his brother to avoid imprisonment. Edwin had been killed by his own troops as he made his way to Scotland, whereas Morkar joined Hereward and sailed to Ely. Bishop Egelwin arrived at Ely in the company of Siward Barn and was later captured when William's forces stormed the stronghold. Egelwin spent the rest of his life imprisoned at Abingdon where he died during the Winter of 1071-72. (112)

Egelwin's presence at the siege of Ely would seem to be conclusive proof of his support for the Anglo-Saxon cause. He may well have decided to throw in his lot with the rebels after the massacre of the Norman forces at Durham had irreparably compromised his position there. There is, however, a detail missing from the account of Egelwin's flight from

Durham which remains puzzling: at no stage was the Bishop accused of treason in the sources. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* noted that Egelwin's brother, Egelric, was charged with that offence and incarcerated at Westminster. (113) The *Historia Regum* merely stated that Egelwin was taken to Abingdon with no crime being specified, although one might suspect that the crime was treason. (114) Symeon noted that William I imprisoned the Bishop because he knew that Egelwin had stolen the property of St Cuthbert. (115) If, however, Egelwin was not a party to the rebel cause, what was he doing at Ely in 1071 ? The sources agree that Egelwin arrived from Scotland with Siward Barn. It is possible that the Bishop hoped to be able to make his way to Peterborough and join his brother who had retired to the monastery there after relinquishing the see of Durham. Ely and Peterborough are close enough to make this explanation plausible. Bishop Egelwin had fled Durham in order to avoid the deteriorating situation in the North-East. Having been forced to land in Scotland by adverse winds he took advantage of the safe haven Malcolm's court offered. When Siward Barn announced his intention of joining the rebels at Ely, Egelwin hoped to find his way to Peterborough but, instead, became embroiled in the siege of the island. Branded a rebel, Egelwin was carried off to Abingdon protesting his innocence. (116)

Egelwin's departure from Durham enabled William I to appoint one of his own nominees to the bishopric. In the Winter of 1071-72 the King also gained the opportunity of reconsidering his policy towards the earldom of Northumbria. Yorkshire had been placed in the hands of his Norman generals after the devastation of the previous Winter. With his own nominee in place at Durham, William's influence in the North would

extend to the Tyne. There is no indication of any Norman penetration into Northumberland before the Summer of 1072 and any such representatives of the regime north of the Tyne would have little support from other Normans in the North, none of whom ventured beyond the Tees. William had to take this situation into account when appointing Cospatric's replacement. Before William could carry out this plan he had to neutralise the Scottish threat to the North-East and it was with this intention that he attacked Scotland in the Summer of 1072.

Malcolm III refused to meet the Normans in battle but eventually agreed to a treaty at Abernethy by which he became William's vassal. (117) On his return south, William halted at Durham. First of all, William deprived Cospatric of his earldom, '...charging him with having afforded counsel and aid to those who had murdered the earl and his men at Durham, although he had not been present in person, and that he had been on the side of the enemy when the Normans had been killed at York.' (118) Cospatric returned to Scotland, where, despite his attacks in 1070, he was granted the earldom of Dunbar by Malcolm III. (119) Secondly, the Normans constructed a *motte* and *bailey* castle at Durham to afford the new Bishop, Walcher, some protection. (120) The sources become more contentious when describing William's other actions in the city of St Cuthbert.

The King visited the shrine of St Cuthbert a little before All Saints Day, 1072, but the accounts of his meeting with the saint are presented in two very different ways by the chronicles produced at Durham in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmi* produced by the pre-monastic Community at Durham differs substantially from Symeon's official monastic rendering of the

incident. According to the *Chronica*, the King reverently approached Cuthbert's Church and asked to be told of the saint's life, of as much interest to the Bishop as to William himself. The elders of the Church told the King of St Oswald and St Aidan and the establishment of the Church of Lindisfarne. They also explained how St Cuthbert had been persuaded to accept the see and how kings from the earliest times had honoured his Church with gifts and had confirmed its liberties and privileges. In response to this, William placed a mark of gold and a precious *pallium* on the altar promising that,

...omnia que me antecessores huic ecclesie sancte Dei genitricis et sancti Cuthberti confessoris in terris, et legibus, et libertate et quietudine contulerunt, tanto firmitus et stabilius a me meisque heredibus et successoribus servari volo et discerno, quanto me meosque heredes et successores omnibus precedentibus regibus dignitate et iusticia precellere cupio; et hec propria manu cum hoc auro et pallio imperpetuum servanda tribuo. (121)

William was, in effect, confirming the privileges which the Church of St Cuthbert had acquired since its inception. The *Chronica* entry resembles the wording of a charter of confirmation although no such genuine document is extant. It is possible that what the *Chronica* recorded was a solemn ceremony in which William made his oblations at the shrine of St Cuthbert and placed his offerings on the altar, just as his predecessors, Athelstan, Edmund and Cnut had done. It may also have been an act of atonement for the devastation wrought by his men during the Winter of 1069-70. Either way such a public display of devotion to St Cuthbert by the King would serve to bolster the position of the new Bishop.

Symeon's account of William's stay in Durham was very different. The same basic elements found in the pre-monastic version of the King's visit are repeated, but Symeon puts a sinister slant on the William's enquiries into the history of the see of St Cuthbert.

[the King]...made a strict inquiry into whether the body of the blessed Cuthbert rested there; and although all exclaimed aloud and with oaths that such was the case, yet he would not believe the statement. He determined, therefore, to decide the matter with his own eyes, for he had certain bishops and abbots in his retinue who, at his command would settle the question. He had already determined that if the holy body was not discovered there he would order all the leaders of the nobility and the elders of the community to be beheaded. (122)

Before William could carry out his threat, St Cuthbert intervened and struck the King down with an 'excessive heat'. Fearing for his life, William left Durham at a gallop and only drew rein when he reached the Tees and the edge of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. (123) Symeon followed this episode with another miracle story relating to the fate of Ralph the royal tax gatherer who was despatched by the King to levy a tribute on the see. (124) Ralph was attacked by St Cuthbert in a vision and remained ill until he, too, had left the bishopric after donating a *pallium* to the Church. The message to Symeon's readers was clear; St Cuthbert would allow no challenge to his authority within the Bishopric of Durham, no matter from what quarter that challenge came.

It has been argued that the miracle stories represent an example of Norman scepticism with regard to the Anglo-Saxon saints. (125) Certainly, Symeon's work suggested that William asked to be shown proof of Cuthbert's presence in the cathedral and that he was suitably chastised for his impiety. However, it is likely that the account in the *Historia*

Dunelmensis Ecclesiae was more a product of the situation at Durham in the early twelfth century than an accurate record of the King's encounter with the Community of St Cuthbert in 1072. Symeon's work was an official history of the recently founded Benedictine Convent at Durham. Even twenty years after the establishment in 1083, Symeon and his fellow monks were anxious to reinforce their claims to be the legitimate guardians of St Cuthbert's relics. Symeon was also careful to record the privileges which the Church of St Cuthbert enjoyed in the North-East, especially with regard to certain exemptions from royal control. The miracle stories warned William's successors to respect the privileges of the Church and not to seek to impose their authority on the see. The story of Ralph the tax-gatherer may well belong more correctly to the period 1096-99 during the three year vacancy after the death of Bishop William of St Calais. It is known that William Rufus exploited the revenues of the see before allowing Ranulf Flambard to purchase the bishopric. (126) The figure of Ralph the tax gatherer probably represents the activities of Flambard in Durham at this time, thinly disguised, so as not to provoke the Bishop, by assigning his activities to the early 1070s.

The *Chronica's* version of William's visit to Cuthbert's shrine is the more plausible. With a Norman nominee recently installed as Bishop and the devastations of 1069-70 relatively fresh in the minds of the *Haliwerfolc*, William would want to reassure the natives that he intended to respect the traditions of the North-East. The most obvious way of making this point was to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors and make a gift at the shrine of St Cuthbert. Such an action would ease the apprehension that the Community of Durham must have felt at having to

accept a Lotharingian Bishop, and it would encourage the idea that the arrival of the Normans in the North-East would not mean an end to the material advancement of the Church. In this respect the nature of the gifts which William placed upon the altar was significant. The *pallium* given to St Cuthbert was a recognition of the saint's authority in his own bishopric, for the presentation of a *pallium* was the Medieval Church's demonstration that episcopal right had been transferred to an individual. The gold mark was a symbol of the King's material support for the Church at Durham. Willaim's gifts on the altar of St Cuthbert were imbued with a symbolism which went far beyond the simple act of almsgiving.

Both the author of the pre-monastic *Chronica* and Symeon record William's other gifts to the Church of St Cuthbert. The King granted St Mary, St Cuthbert and Bishop Walcher the estate of Waltham with its appurtenances, as well as extensive lands in Lindsey. (127) Symeon very deliberately connects William's benefactions to the miracle stories described above. It was because the King had been impressed by Cuthbert's power that he had made his donations of property and had confirmed the laws and customs of the saint. (128)

The appointment of the Lotharingian, Walcher, as Bishop of Durham marked the beginning of William's attempt to extend his influence to the North-East. A year after the departure of Egelwin, William nominated Walcher, a clerk of the Church of Liège, whom he had invited over to England, and had him consecrated to the see of St Cuthbert. Walcher was conducted to York by Eilaf the Housecarl and from there to Durham by Earl Cospatric, arriving around mid-Lent 1071. (129) According to Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, Walcher was of noble birth,

amply instructed in secular as well as sacred literature. (130) At the time of his appointment, he was '...of venerable old age' and respected for the pious austerity of his life. To the monk, Symeon, Walcher's most apparent characteristic was that he was a secular and not a monk like himself. One of Symeon's recurrent themes was that the Church of St Cuthbert should be governed by bishops who, like Cuthbert himself, were also monks. Secular bishops such as Sexhelm and Eadred were portrayed as simoniacal and unworthy of the honour. (131) Walcher's later sponsoring of Aldwin's attempt to re-establish monasticism in the North-East, convinced Symeon that the Bishop '...showed himself to be a truly religious monk by the way that he led an admirable life.' (132) Indeed, Symeon later stated that, had Walcher lived, it was his intention to become a monk. (133)

Having ensured that the see of Durham was placed in the hands of one of his own nominees, William I required a trustworthy earl of Northumbria who would work in harness with Walcher to provide security in the North-East. Hitherto, William's choices as earl had not proved judicious. His policy seems to have been to appoint men with local connections which would ensure their survival. However, these ties had been stronger than their allegiance to the Norman king. Gospatric's defection during the rebellion of 1068-70 probably convinced William that he needed to appoint someone who was closer to the Norman *curia regis* than previous earls had been. The murder of Robert Cumin had shown that a Frenchman would be unlikely to be able to maintain his position without a large standing army constantly to hand. Even by 1072 the Normans in the North-East were still few in number as there was not the influx of minor landholders and sub-tenants which had followed the

redistribution of land further south. The campaign of the Winter of 1069-70 had not made the settlement of the North any more attractive and the threat of Scottish raids must have added to the problem. The future extension of Norman rule over the whole of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom thus depended upon William I establishing an effective regime in the North-East which would provide security and encourage the settlement of the region.

William's choice of earl of Northumbria fell upon Waltheof, the son of earl Siward. Although Waltheof had joined the rebellions of 1068-70, he had submitted to the King early in 1070 and had been allowed his freedom. A number of factors made Waltheof appear to be the ideal choice for the northern earldom. To begin with, Waltheof was already a powerful member of the surviving Old English aristocracy with estates in the south centred upon Northampton. (134) His interest in these southern properties might have been likely to make the earl more reluctant to forfeit them by joining any insurrection in the North. William also strengthened Waltheof's ties with the Norman royal family by allowing him to marry his niece, Judith. (135) The earl was the son of Siward and AElflaed, the daughter of Baldred, earl of Northumbria (died 1038). (136) Waltheof was thus bound by familial ties to both the Conqueror's family and the Northumbrian nobility.

Waltheof and Walcher appear to have worked closely together until the earl's fall in 1075. The *Historia Regum* noted that Waltheof sat with Walcher in his episcopal synods and ensured that whatever was decreed was enacted throughout his earldom. (137) There are signs, however, that this relationship was not as close as the chronicler would have us believe. During the revival of monasticism in the North-East, Walcher

was anxious to ensure that Aldwin and his companions settled on land owned by the church. Initially the small group of monks had occupied Monkchester which lay on the north bank of the Tyne and so in Waltheof's earldom (138). Walcher granted the monks the derelict site of Jarrow (139) which lay within the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. Perhaps the Bishop feared that any monastic corporation that might develop in Monkchester, on the earl's estates, would, under the influence of its lay patron secure exemption from episcopal control. In addition it might also divert donations away from the Church of St Cuthbert at Durham.

Little is known of Waltheof's period of government in Northumbria other than his working relationship with Walcher and an incident which suggests his position in the North did not go unchallenged. Waltheof seems to have become embroiled in the so-called 'Blood feud' between the House of Bamburgh and one of the leading families of York. The feud progressed throughout the eleventh century with first one side, then the other killing the leader of their rivals. (140) The feud originated in bitter rivalry between the earls of Northumbria and the Scandinavian holds of York, over the government of the region above the Humber. The last killing had been the murder of Waltheof's grandfather, Baldred, by Carl, son of Thurbrand in 1038. (141) As has been argued above, the feud had a political dimension and, perhaps Waltheof felt that the traditional enemies of his clan posed a threat to his rule in Northumbria. Alternatively, as one of the sources suggested, Waltheof may simply have been carrying through a personal vendetta when he murdered the sons of Carl near York in 1073. (142)

The partnership of Walcher and Waltheof lasted until 1075 when the earl became involved in a rebellion against William I. The revolt was

not, however, organised by the Northumbrians but by members of the Norman aristocracy. Roger, earl of Hereford and Ralph, earl of East Anglia, met together at the marriage of Ralph to Roger's sister at Exning in Cambridgeshire. As earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, Waltheof had interests in the area and attended the feast as a guest. During the celebrations a conspiracy was hatched and an attempt was made to involve Waltheof. The degree to which Waltheof was a willing partner in the affair is a matter of some debate, the details of which are clouded by later Crowland tradition which argued that Waltheof's innocence was proved after his execution by miracles worked by his relics at the abbey. (143) Waltheof informed Archbishop Lanfranc of the conspiracy and was advised to warn William who was then in Normandy. (144) William returned from the Continent and cast the earl into prison, whilst the rebellion focused on Norwich floundered despite receiving aid from a Danish fleet. The situation was serious enough, however, for Lanfranc to write to Walcher warning him to guard against possible insurrection in the North. By Christmas the rebellion had been quelled and the leaders imprisoned, mutilated or exiled. Alone of the rebels, Waltheof was executed. Perhaps William felt that such a betrayal of trust by a member of his own family merited the death penalty. The sentence was unusual enough to provoke an outcry and help foster a cult centred on the earl's relics. (145) Waltheof was the last native earl of Northumbria and his death heralded a significant change in Norman policy towards the North.

William decided to allow Bishop Walcher to assume responsibility for Northumbria beyond the Tyne. (146) The Bishop had successfully governed the *Haliwerfolc* since his appointment in early 1071 and William probably

believed that this was an indication that Walcher was relatively secure in the North-East. He had control of the fortress at Durham and could use it as a base from which to extend his authority. The fact that the new earl was also head of the ecclesiastical corporation of St Cuthbert's would have done nothing to weaken his position. There is, unfortunately, little information in the sources regarding Walcher's government of the North-East. The available evidence does suggest that the Normans were still in insufficient numbers to dominate the region as the regime had to rely upon a mixture of co-operation and coercion to maintain itself.

Symeon's account of Walcher's episcopate is dominated by the Bishop's sponsorship of the nascent monastic revival. This led Symeon to praise Walcher's activities as a patron of Aldwin's monks and, as a consequence, this obscures the Bishop's role in secular affairs. The *Historia Regum*, however, does provide one or two details concerning the government of Northumbria under Walcher. His administration relied on the uneasy coalition between his own retinue, apparently consisting of his kinsmen and members of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, and representatives of the House of Bamburgh. The man chosen to represent the native Northumbrians on Walcher's governing council was a certain Ligulf. He had large estates spread throughout England, although the sources do not say where these lay. According to the *Historia Regum*, Ligulf fled to Durham with his family, during the disturbances of 1068-70. (147) The chronicler stated that Ligulf came to Durham 'because he loved St Cuthbert with all his heart'. (148) This may well have been true, but his marriage to Ealdgyth, daughter of earl Ealdred of Bamburgh meant that he had property interests through his wife in the

North-East. That Ligulf had been resident in the North prior to Walcher's appointment as earl is indicated by the fact that his young son, Morkar, joined the monks at Jarrow sponsored by Ligulf's brother-in-law, earl Waltheof. (149) It seems, however, that Ligulf was not given authority in Northumbria as Walcher appointed his kinsman, Gilbert, to govern the land to the north of the Tyne. That Gilbert had to rely on Northumbrian soldiers to discharge his duties is shown by the fact that the only two of his retinue to survive the massacre at Gateshead were Northumbrian thegns. (150) The *Haliwerfolc* were committed to the care of a certain Leobwin who was referred to as Walcher's chaplain and archdeacon. (151)

In August 1079, Malcolm III launched another raid on Northumbria, devastating the countryside as far as the Tyne. The Scots' expedition carried off a great deal of booty without being challenged by Gilbert's forces. The failure of Bishop Walcher's men to oppose Malcolm's attack may have brought complaints from Ligulf. The sources also describe how Walcher allowed his men *carte blanche* to plunder the natives and murder the local nobility. (152) Ligulf's protests in the episcopal council brought a strong reaction from Leobwin who, '...stimulated by envy and puffed up with arrogance on account of his own power set himself up against Ligulf.' (153) The situation deteriorated until Leobwin persuaded Gilbert to murder Ligulf and almost all the members of his family. On hearing of the murders, Walcher is said to have groaned with dismay, as he no doubt realised that it had only been through the co-operation of the House of Bamburgh that his government had been sustained and now, at a stroke, Gilbert's actions had alienated the majority of the Bishop's subjects.

Walcher took a number of steps designed to ease the situation and distance himself from the incident. After withdrawing to the safety of Durham castle, he despatched messengers pleading his innocence, offering to banish Gilbert and announcing his willingness to submit the crime to ecclesiastical judgement. As a further attempt to calm the situation, Walcher may have attempted to make Ligulf's widow a *wergeld* payment by loaning her land at Thornley and Wingate in the parish of Kelloe in County Durham for the period of her lifetime. (154) The grant was recorded in an Anglo-Saxon memorandum in a manuscript containing Cuthbertine *vitae*. The notification was in Old English and probably drawn up by a southern clerk brought to Durham by Walcher, (155) and this, in itself, seems to confirm the reliance Walcher's administration placed on native Anglo-Saxons. Professor Offler suggested that the beneficiary of the land-loan, Ealdgyth, may have been one of two women. Either she was the mother of Cospatric, earl of Northumbria, 1068-72, or she was Ligulf's wife, the daughter of earl Aldred. Professor Offler prefers the former candidate arguing that the grant was intended to be a source of support for Cospatric's elderly mother after the earl's disgrace and flight from Northumbria in 1072. His main objection against the possibility that the grantee was Ligulf's wife seems to rest on a doubt that Walcher would have had enough time to make the grant between Ligulf's death and the Bishop's own murder. (156)

The narrative sources do not offer any help on this matter and there are no other extant examples of grants by Walcher, however, Professor Offler's objections may be countered. First, despite the opinion of Symeon of Durham that Cospatric never regained his former wealth, it is known that when he arrived in Scotland he was granted the

earldom of Dunbar by Malcolm III. His personal resources may have been more than ample to provide for his widowed mother, and, besides, it is hard to understand why the Bishop of Durham would support the family of a man ousted from the realm by the King. Secondly, the issue of a land-loan would not be a particularly protracted process although putting the new owner in possession might have been. Walcher could have made the gesture of reconciliation in a matter of moments, especially if circumstances, such as those surrounding Ligulf's death, demanded expedition. The Bishop may even have had the offer of land as a bargaining counter in the negotiations with the Northumbrians at Gateshead on the very day of his murder. There is, therefore, no inherent reason why the earliest record of a grant of land by a post-Conquest bishop of Durham should not be seen as part of a desperate attempt to avert a rebellion in Northumbria.

On 14 May 1080 Walcher and his *familia* met the Northumbrians at Gateshead on the Tyne (157), on the border between the bishopric and the earldom. Ligulf's relatives held Walcher responsible for the actions of his subordinates and suspected him of collusion, as his archdeacon, Leobwin, had entertained Gilbert at his house on the night following the murder. Walcher and his retinue withdrew into the church whilst the Northumbrians killed all those who remained in the open. The Bishop ordered Gilbert and another Leobwin, dean of the Church of Durham, who was accused of giving Walcher evil counsel, to leave the church, hoping that their deaths would satisfy the Northumbrians call for revenge. The rebels demanded the surrender of the archdeacon but he refused to obey the Bishop's order to leave. Eventually the Northumbrians set fire to the church and when Walcher emerged from the flames he was put to death.

Marching south the Northumbrians attacked Durham but, finding it too well protected, decided to raise the siege on the fourth day and return home.

Walcher's murderer is named in the sources but, in two accounts he is Eadulf or Eadulf 'Rus', either the son or grandson of Cospatric, whilst in another he is an unidentified Waltheof. (158) The *Historia Regum* in its short history of the earls of Northumbria identified Eadulf Rus as the son of that Cospatric murdered by Tostig in 1064. The crucial fact is that Walcher was killed by a member of the House of Bamburgh and that this was in retaliation for the murder of Ligulf. Symeon, in a miracle story, names an unidentified Waltheof as the Bishop's killer. (159) It is possible that a Waltheof may have been involved, but the details given in the *Historia Regum* account make it likely that Eadulf was responsible for Walcher's death. (160)

Walcher's body was retrieved by the monks of Jarrow and brought back to Durham where he was given a makeshift funeral. During the Summer of 1080, Odo of Bayeux led an expedition into Northumbria to punish the rebels. (161) The Norman retribution was severe and many of the inhabitants were mutilated or became the victims of extortion, being forced to purchase their lives. Walcher was remembered by the later monastic historiographical tradition for his sponsorship of the monastic revival in the North-East but this did not stop Symeon from criticising the Bishop's exactions from the Church. As a postscript to Walcher's death Symeon noted how the Bishop had abstracted ornaments from the cathedral including a pastoral staff inlaid with sapphire. In the circumstances of Walcher's government of the bishopric of Durham it is not surprising that he diverted resources to maintain his position.

The Bishop's murder marks the end of the first phase of the Norman Conquest of the North-East. William I's policy of appointing native earls of Northumbria had proved unsuccessful, but it is doubtful that he could have done anything else. Norman penetration into the lands above the Tees only began in the Winter of 1069-70 and there is no evidence of extensive settlement in the decade after 1070. As has been seen, Walcher's *familia* was composed of his kinsmen and, for the government of the bishopric and the earldom he had to rely upon the co-operation of native Northumbrians such as Ligulf. Gilbert's retinue was, at least partly, composed of local troops and these, it seems from the chronicles were often unruly and destructive. William I had given Walcher as much support as he could, building him a castle and granting him estates in the south to supplement his resources. Gradually, however, the tension between the *extraneus*, Walcher, and the native Northumbrians brought about the collapse of the Bishop's regime. Further settlement by Norman magnates, together with the dispossession of the Northumbrian aristocracy was needed if the situation was to be stabilised. This was to be matched by a significant change in the ecclesiastical profile of the Church of Durham, a change which is explored in the next chapter.

Endnotes

1. *Historia Regum* [HR] in Symeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia*, ed., T. Arnold, (Rolls Series, 1882-5), II, 179. See cap. 2 , pp. 62-65
2. See above, cap. 2, pp. 62-3
3. The term 'Northumbrians' is used here to specify those who lived to the north of the Tyne, in the modern county of Northumberland. The problem of the divisions of the North is discussed below, pp. 85-6.
4. Tostig was held responsible for the murders of Gospatric, Gamel and Ulf in 1063 and 1064. For a discussion of the significance of these killings, see above, cap. 2 , pp. 62-3
5. *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, [HDE], in Symeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia*, I, 94-95, 97-98.
6. Symeon of Durham, HDE, I, 94.
7. The miracle story recording Aldan-hamal is found in the *Liber de translationibus et miraculis sancti Cuthberti* printed in Symeon of Durham, I, 243-45.
8. W.E. Kapelle, (*The Norman Conquest of the North; the Region and its Transformation*, pp. 129-31), saw Aldan-hamal as representing the threat posed by organised raiders from Cumbria who regularly pillaged Northumbria. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Aldan-hamal was not a native of Northumbria himself.
9. For a discussion of the right of Sanctuary at St Cuthbert's shrine, see D. Hall, 'The Sanctuary of St Cuthbert' in eds., G. Bonner, D. Rollason, C. Stancliffe, *St Cuthbert and his Community to AD 1200*, pp. 425-436.
10. Kapelle suggested that St Oswin's relics were exhumed by Elfred Westou, in 1065, in an attempt to foment rebellion in the North, (*The Norman Conquest of the North* p. 98). This contention has been discussed above, cap. 2 , pp. 62-3
11. Egelwin's treatment by the Durham historiographical tradition of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries is examined below, pp. 104-8
12. The flight from Durham is recorded in Symeon of Durham , II, HR, 189; HDE, I, 100-101 and in the *Liber de translationibus et miraculis sancti Cuthberti*, [Miraculis] I, 245-247
13. See above, note 8.
14. F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (3rd. Revised edn.) p. 581. Harold Godwinson had married Edwin and Morkar's sister Ealdgyth.

15. Symeon, HR, II, pp. 178, 198.
16. Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 100-101.
17. B. Wilkinson, 'Northumbrian Separatism in 1065-66', in *BJRL*, 23 (1939), 509-15.
18. Symeon, II, HR, p. 198. *Morkarus vero, quoniam alias gravibus negotiis impeditus fueret, comitatum ultra Tynam tradidit Osulfo, adolescenti filio prae-fati comitis Eadulfi.*
19. Morkar was engaged on several campaigns in 1066, including that against Tostig and the Norwegians which ended in defeat at Fulford. (Symeon, HR, II, 179-81).
20. It seems unlikely that there was a corresponding appointment to York although Kapelle argues that earl Waltheof, Siward's son, assumed control of the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon and was sub-earl of York. (*Norman Conquest of the North*, p. 100, n.44). Kapelle gives no reference for this assertion that Waltheof was a sub-earl of York. It seems probable that Morkar would retain control of the important city of York whilst allowing the more remote part of his earldom to revert to local control.
21. Symeon, HR, II, 179.
22. Symeon, HR, II, 179. *Qui mox ut regni gubernaculo suscepit, leges iniquas destruere, aequas coepit condere, ecclesiarum ac monasterium patronus fieri...*
23. Edwin and Morkar's father, AElfgar was twice exiled during the reign of Edward the Confessor, but after invading with forces raised in Wales and Ireland, he was reinstated.
24. *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis* ed. B. Thorpe (2 vols., London, 1848-9). The sources of the *Historia Regum* are discussed in P. Hunter Blair, 'Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham' in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N.K. Chadwick, pp. 63-118 at 107-111.
25. Symeon, HDE, I, 98. cf. the *Chronica Monasteriis Dunelmensis* produced by the pre-monastic community at Durham is typical in its brevity; *Defuncto piissimo rege Edwardo, cum gloriosus ac potentissimus rex Willelmus, interfecto Haroldo, totius Angliae monarchiam obtineret...* (H.H.E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', *EHR*, 40, (1925), 528).
26. Symeon, HR, II, 180.
27. Symeon, HR, II, 181.
28. Symeon, HR, II, 182.

29. Symeon, HR, II, 185. ...ut victoria qua potiti sunt, vere et absque dubio Dei iudicio sita scribenda, qui puniendo...scelus periurii...ostendit se non Deum volentem iniquitatem.
30. Symeon, HDE, I, 97-98.
31. Symeon, HR, II, 198. ...viro consiliario et prudenti...
32. Symeon, HDE, I, 98. *His idem Copsi postea, quamvis brevi tempore, provinciae Northanhymbrorum, scilicet illorum qui ad septentrionalem plagam fluminis Tini habitant iubente Willelmo rege procurator est factus.*
33. See above, pp. 82-3
34. Kapelle, (*Norman Conquest of the North*, 106), considers Copsig's appointment as 'an incredible decision'. He suggests that Copsig was made responsible for the 'government of the North' whereas the Durham sources specifically limit Copsig's commission to the area north of the Tyne. Kapelle says that William's decision to appoint Copsig must have been based on inaccurate knowledge of the 1065 revolt which he had received from Tostig when the exiled earl was in Flanders.
35. See cap. 2
36. The development of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert has been traced in cap. 2
37. Symeon, HR, II, 174, sa 1059, records a visit by Malcolm III of Scotland to Edward the Confessor. The Scots king was accompanied by Tostig and Bishop Egelwin. Tostig and his wife's gifts to St Cuthbert have been noted above, n. 5.
38. Above p. 73
39. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* [HSC] in Symeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia*, I, 203.
40. Symeon, HR, II, 75.
41. Symeon, HR, II, 197-99. The annal for 1072 contains a brief summary of the earls of Northumbria from the mid-tenth century until the reign of Henry I.
42. Siward attacked Scotland in 1054, driving Macbeth from the throne and installing Malcolm Canmore. See below, cap. 7, pp. 324-5
43. Symeon, HDE, I, 91-92.
44. See above cap. 2.
45. Copsig's gifts to the Church of St Cuthbert included are given in Symeon, HDE, I 97.

46. Tostig was frequently absent from his earldom. For example he went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1061 and campaigned in Wales on the king's behalf in 1063. (Symeon, HR, II, saa. 1061, (p.174) 1063 (p. 177))
47. See below, pp. 94-5
48. Symeon, HR, II, 198.
49. Symeon, HR, II, 198. F.S. Scott has suggested that Copsig was killed at Newburn on Tyne. (F.S. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', AA, 4th series, xxx, (1952), 172). Professor Barrow points out that Scott's suggestion is the most likely as Newburn on Tyne was the successor to *Ad Murum* [Walbottle], once a royal headquarters and later that of the earls. In addition, Newburn on Tyne had an ancient church. (Written communication).
50. Symeon, HR, II, 198. *Pulsus a Copsio de comitatu Osulfus, in fame et egestate silvis latitans et montibus, tandem, collectis quas eadem necessitas compulerat sociis, Copsium in Nyweburne convivantem concludit. Qui inter tumultuantes turbas lapsus dum lateret in ecclesia, proditus, incendio ecclesiae compellitur usque ad ostium procedere, ubi in ipso ostio manibus Osulfi detruncatur, quinta ebdomeda commissi comitatus, iiii idus Martii.*
51. Symeon, HR, II, 185.
52. Symeon, HR, II, 185. D. Walker, *The Norman Conquerors* [A New History of Wales], (Swansea, 1977), 19.
53. Symeon, HR, II, 185.
54. Symeon, HR, II, 199. *Nox sequenti autumnno, et ipse Osulfus cum in obvii sibi latronis lanceam praeceps irrueret, illico confossus interiit.*
55. Gospatric's descent is outlined in Symeon, HR, II, 199.
56. Professor H.S. Offler, (*Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071-1152*, (Surtees Society, 179, [1968], p.2) accepts the identification of Maldred as the brother of Duncan I, king of Scots. Maldred was the son of Crinan the hereditary abbot of Dunkeld whose wife, Bethoc was the daughter of Malcolm II. However, Professor Barrow has pointed out that ...'there is no evidence, (and very little probability), that Maldred son of Crinan the thegn, husband of Uhtred's daughter, was a son of Duncan I's father Crin[an], abbot of Dunkeld'. The suggestion that Crin was the father of Duncan I can be traced to a 'bad guess' by W.F. Skene, (cf. *The Scottish Genealogist*, 25, no. 4, (1978), p. 98). [Written communication].
57. Symeon, HR, II, 186. *Post haec Marleswen et Gospatric et quique Northumbranae gentis nobiliores, regis austeritatem devitantes, et ne sicut allis in custodiam mitterentur formidantes, assumptis secum Eadgaro Clitone et matre sua Agatha, duabusque sororibus suis Margareta*

et Christina, navigio Scotiam adierunt, ibidemque regis Scottorum Malcolmi pace hiemem exegerunt.

58. The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, II, pp. 218-219

59. See above n.37.

60. 'The actual spark that set off the new revolt occurred in Northumbria...The successful massacre of the Norman force at Durham signalled the beginning of the last general rising of the North...' Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 112.

61. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, vol. II, 220 (translation p.221) and note.

62. Orderic Vitalis, ed. Chibnall, introduction, xxxv-xxxvi.

63. Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 112

64. Symeon, HR, II, 186-187. *Misit rex Willelmus Northymbris ad aquilonalem plagam Tine comitem Rodbertum cognomento Cumin tertio regni sui anno.*

65. See Scott, 'Earl Waltheof,' 175. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, II, Introduction, p.xxxv.

66. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sa. 1068 (recte 1069), D,E, maintains that earl Robert's force consisted of 900 men.

67. It must be admitted, however, that the earl is usually addressed without the 'de', simply as Cumin. The suggestion made by Young in his article, (A. Young, *William Cumin: Border Politics and the Bishopric of Durham*, 1141-1144, (University of York, Borthwick Papers no. 54) p.3), that 'Cumin' was merely a nickname derived from some connexion with the spice trade may be valid.

68. For example, the Norman Conquest of Ceredigion was undertaken by Gilbert fitz Richard, lord of Clare, from 1110 largely by encouraging the settlement of Flemings. The largest Flemish settlement, however, was in Pembrokeshire where they were established by Henry I. (See D. Walker, *The Norman Conquerors*, 45-46).

69. Symeon, HR, II, 187. ...sed ille neminem hoc audere aestimans despexit admonentem.

70. Symeon, HDE, I, 98-99. *Quem illi ubi advenientem audierant, omnes relictis domibus fugere parabant. Sed subito nivis tanta nimietas tantaque hiemis obvenit asperitas, ut omnem eis fugiendi possibilitatem adimeret. Quapropter omnibus idem fuit consilium, ut aut comitem extinguerent aut simul ipsi caderent.*

71. Symeon, HR, II, 187. *At illi omnes in unam coacti sententiam ne alienigenae dominio subderentur, statuerunt aut illum interficere, aut ipsi simul omnes in ore gladii cadere.*
72. Symeon, HR, II, 187. *Dunelmum cum multa militum manu ingressus permisit suos hostiliter ubique agere, occisis etiam nonnullis ecclesiae rusticis, susceptus est autem ab episcopo eum omni humanitate et honore.*
73. Symeon, HDE, I, 99. *Populis ergo genua flectantibus, et sanctum Cuthbertum ut ecclesiam suam aflammis illaesam servaret, rogantibus, continuo surgens ab oriente ventus globos flammarum ab ecclesia reiecit atque longius omne abinde periculum repulit.*
74. Symeon, HR, II, 187; HDE, I, 99.
75. See above, p. 91
76. Symeon, HDE, I, 105.
77. Symeon, HR, II, 189. *Cum haec Eboraci circum circaque rex ageret, Agelwinus Dunelmensis episcopus et optimates populi, timentes ne propter occisionem et comitis et Normannorum apud Eboracum, gladius regis innocentes aequae ut nocentes pari clade involveret, unanimi consilio tollentes sancti patris Cuthberti incorruptum corpus fugam ineunt iii Idus Decembris feria vi.*
78. Symeon, HDE, I, 100. *...quidam qui diceret homines illos quendam in sua urbe sanctum habere, qui eis semper in adversis protector adesset, quos nemo impune illo vindicante laedere unquam valeret.*
79. For example, Orderic Vitalis has 'not long afterward' (p.223); and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D, sa. 1068 [recte 1069] has 'Immediately thereafter...'
80. Symeon, HR, II, 187. *...cum totis viribus Northymbrorum...*
81. For the sources of Orderic Vitalis' account of William I's campaigns of 1068-70, see Marjorie Chibnall's introduction to volume II of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. xxxii.
82. Orderic Vitalis, II, 223.
83. Swein was the son of Cnut the Great's sister, Estrith and earl Ulf.
84. Symeon, HR, II, 188.
85. See, for example, T.A.M. Bishop, 'The Norman Settlement of Yorkshire', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* eds. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin and R.W. Southern. (Oxford, 1948) 1-14.
86. Symeon, HR, II, 188. *Interea ita terra cultore destituta, lata ubique solitudo patebat per novem annos. Inter Eboracum et Dunelmum*

nusquam villa inhabitata; bestiarum tantum et latronum latibula magno itinerantibus fuere timori.

87. *Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, (Phillimore, 1986) (2 vols.) Part 1, ed. Margaret L. Fault & Marie Stinson, 'The Lands of the Bishop of Durham', 3Y, 1-18. The values for the manors of the Bishop of Durham have been taken from this section and are only those of the *caput* of the estate and do not include the outliers.

88. Symeon, HDE, I, 103.

89. There have been various identifications of this site ranging from Tod Point near Coatham on the southern shore of the Tees to Bamburgh. Orderic Vitalis describes William I leaving the Tees and returning to York via *Haugustaldam*, or Hexham. Historians have devised ingenious explanations of this seemingly circuitous route south, but have been reluctant to accept Orderic's account. Orderic may simply have been describing, in a much compressed form, William's devastation of St Cuthbert's lands between the Tyne and the Tees. (For a summary of the various arguments see, Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, II, 235, note 1.)

90. Orderic Vitalis, 233.

91. Symeon, HDE, I, 103.

92. See above p. 96

93. Symeon, HR, II, 189.

94. Symeon, HR, II, 189; HDE, I, 100-101.

95. The miracle of 'Earnanus' Dream' is related in Symeon, HDE, I, Book III, cap. xvi, 102-104.

96. Symeon, HDE, I, 101. *Quo facto rex graviter indignatus, iussit eos perquisitos comprehendere, et comprehensos ad episcopum et presbyteros eorum iudicio puniendos perducere. At illi, nihil eis triste facientes, permiserunt illaesos abire.*

97. Symeon, HR, II, 189.

98. Orderic Vitalis, 235.

99. Symeon, HR, II, 189. *Dunelmensis ecclesia, omni custodia et ecclesiastico servitio destituta, spelunca erat pauperum et debiliu[m] et aegrotantium qui cum fugere non poterant, illuc declinantes fame ac morbo deficiebant.*

100. Symeon, HDE, I, 101.

101. Symeon, HDE, I, 86-7, 91-2.

102. Symeon, HDE, I, 92.

103. *Hic, cum per aliquot annos episcopatum regeret, videns se nullum aliunde auxilium habere, nec per se malignorum hominum violencie, qua ecclesie libertatem infestabant et infrangebant, posse resistere, malens episcopatum relinquere quam propter suam imbecillitatem ecclesie libertatem et quietudinem deperire, ad monasterium proprium rediit et sine episcopatu vitam finivit.* Craster, 'Red Book of Durham', 528.
104. *Placuerat eidem antistiti ecclesiam in Cunecaceastre...de ligno factam destruere, et pro eo quod aliquando beati Cuthberti corpus ibidem quieverat aliam de lapide fabricare. Cum ergo altius foderetur, grandis ibidem thesaurus est inventus, quam dudum propter avaritiam et tyrannidem Sexhelmi, de quo supra dictum, secretarius et pauci cum eo ibidem dicuntur abscondisse. Episcopus itaque tollens ipsam pecuniam, ad monasterium unde ipse fuerat misit, quam illuc sequi omnino deliberavit. Praemissis enim auro et argento, aliisque rebus quas de ecclesia tulerat, decrevit episcopatum demittere, et fratrem Egelwinum in locum suum substituere.* Symeon, HDE, p. 92.
105. *Liber de miraculis*, Miracle cap. VI, in Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 245-247.
106. Symeon, HR, II, 177.
107. Symeon, HR, II, 190.
108. Symeon, HR, II, 192-193. Winchester Legatine Council, 7 or 11 April 1070, *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church*, I, (871-1204), Part II, (1066-1204), eds. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke, 565-576.
109. Symeon, HR, II, 192.
110. For an analysis of the Hereward legend, see M. Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*, caps. II, III, 9-38.
111. S.J. Ridyard, 'Condigna Veneratio: Post-Conquest attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies* (Proceedings of the Battle Conference), IX, 181-182.
112. Symeon, HDE, I, 105; HR, II, 195.
113. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D,E, sa. 1072.
114. *Qui [rex Willelmus] mox episcopum Agelwinum Abbandoniam missum in custodia posuit, ubi in ipsa hieme vitam finivit.* Symeon, HR, II, 190.
115. Symeon, HDE, I, 105.
116. Symeon, HDE, I, 105.
117. Symeon, HR, II, 196. *Sed ubi rex Anglorum Scotiam intraverat, rex... Malcolmus ei in loco qui dicitur Abernithi occurrit, et homo suus devenit.*

118. ...*imponens illi quod consilio et auxilio affuisset eis qui comitem cum suis in Dunelmo peremerant, licet ipse ibidem praesens non fuisset, et quia in parte hostium fuisset, cum Normanni apud Eboracum necarentur.* Symeon, HR, II, 196.
119. R.L.G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland*, (London, 1954), 26-7.
120. For the construction of Durham castle, Symeon, HR, II, 199. In the *Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis Monachi ac Prioris* (Surtees Society, 70, [1880]) ed. J. Raine, there is a *descriptio arcis Dunelmensis*, which describes the fortifications of Durham as they were in the 1140s.
121. Craster, 'Red Book of Durham', 528.
122. [rex Willelmus]...*et diligenter interrogans an corpus beati Cuthberti ibidem requiesceret, cunctis vociferantibus et orantibus illud ibi haberi credere noluit. Decrevit ergo rem visu explorare, habens secum episcopos et abbates, qui, eo iubente, id deberent perficere. Iam enim disposuerat, ut si sanctum ibi corpus inventum non esset, nobiliores et natu maiores universos obtruncari praeciperet.* Symeon, HDE, I, 106.
123. Symeon, HDE, I, 106.
124. Symeon, HDE, I, 107.
125. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, (Cambridge, 1963, 2nd.ed.), 117-19.
126. It was certainly Archbishop Anselm's opinion that the circumstances surrounding Rannulf's purchase of the bishopric were simoniacal. ed. F.S. Schmitt, *Opera Omnia*, IV, *Epistola* 214, 113-13. See also, H.S. Offler, 'Ranulf Flambard as Bishop of Durham 1099-1128', *Durham University Journal*, 1971, p.15.
127. Craster, 'Red Book', p. 528 [Waltham]; 529 [Lindsey].
128. Symeon, HDE, I, 108.
129. Symeon, HR, II, 195.
130. Symeon, HDE, I, 105-6. ...*Walcherus de gente Hlothariorum, natu nobilis, divina et seculari scientia non mediocriter institutus, ab ipso rege eligitur, et ad pontificatum ecclesie sancti Cuthberti consecratur; vir venerandae canitiei, sobrietate morum et honestate vitae tali dignus honore.*
131. For the careers of Sexhelm and Eadred see Symeon, HDE, I, 77, 91, respectively.
132. Symeon, HDE, I, 106. [Walcherus]...*sed vitae laudabilis conversatione religiosum praeferabat monachum.*

133. Symeon, HDE, I, 113. *Hic quoque, si diuturniora huius vitae tempora extitissent, monachus fieri....*
134. F.S. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', 160-61.
135. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', 185.
136. Symeon, HR, 199.
137. Symeon, HR, II, 200.
138. Symeon, HDE, I, 109.
139. Symeon, HDE, I, 110. H.S. Offler, *Durham Episcopal Charters*, 2 (a), p.3.
140. Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 17-20, 22-26.
141. Symeon, HR, II, 197-98.
142. Symeon, HR, II, 200. *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, in Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 215-220 at p. 219.
143. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', 207.
144. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* D, sa. 1076 [recte 1075]. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', 205.
145. Walteof's reputation as a thaumaturge was largely established by the *Vita Waldevi* produced at the monastery of Crowland which acquired his relics. (*Vita* ptd. by J.A. Giles, *Vitae quorundam Anglo-Saxonum* (Caxton Soc.), (London, 1854).
146. Kapelle, (*The Norman Conquest of the North* p. 137) maintains that Walcher purchased the earldom after Waltheof's fall. See Symeon, HR, II, 208.
147. Symeon, HR, II, 208-9.
148. *Hic itaque vir late per Angliam possessiones multas ex hereditario iure possedit. Sed quia ubique locorum Normanni incessanter ea tempestate operam dabant suae feritati, cum suis omnibus ad Dunholme se contulit quia sanctum Cuthbertum corde sincero dilexit.* Symeon, HR, II, 208.
149. Symeon, HR, II, 209.
150. Symeon, HR, II, 210.
151. Symeon, HR, II, 209. See H.S. Offler, 'The Early Archdeacons of the diocese of Durham', *Trans. Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* 190.
152. Symeon, HDE, I, 114.

153. [Leobwinus]...*invidiae stimulis succensus, et propter suam potentiam taedis superbiae nimis inflatus, se contra praedictum virium arroganter erexit.* Symeon, HR, II, 209.

154. Offler, *Durham Episcopal Charters*, no. 1, pp. 1-3.

155. H.H.E. Craster, 'Anglo-Saxon Records of the See of Durham', AA, 4th series, I, (1924), 194.

156. Offler, DEC, p. 2.

157. Professor Barrow has drawn my attention to the fact that the existence of the toponymic, *Bottle Bank* in Gateshead, indicates the site of an ancient lord's hall, presumably belonging to the earls of Northumbria, but perhaps, although less likely, to the Bishops of Durham. This suggests that the Northumbrians called Walcher to a traditional meeting place on the boundary between the earldom and the bishopric.

158. Eadulf is named as the killer in Symeon, HR, II, 197-8 and in the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, in Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 365-84 at 383. Waltheof is named by Symeon, HDE, I, 115.

159. The miracle of the 'Resurrection of Eadulf of Ravensworth' is found in Symeon, HDE, I, Book, III, cap. xxiii, 113-116.

160. The *Historia Regum* goes on to say that Eadulf was killed by a woman and buried at Jedburgh. Symeon, HR, II, 198.

161. Symeon, HDE, I, 118; HR, II, 211.

Cap. 4. ...*ordinem non novum instituit, sed antiquum Deo renovante restituit*: The Establishment of the Benedictine Convent of Durham in 1083.

The murders of Bishop Walcher and the leaders of his administration brought a violent reaction from William I.[1] The king's half-brother, Odo of Bayeux, led a punitive expedition which devastated the bishopric during the summer of 1080.[2] Barely a decade after the Harrying of the North, the North East of England was once again 'reduced to a wilderness'.[3] The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* makes it clear that the expeditionary force confined its activities to the lands of the bishopric which lay between the rivers Tyne and Tees. Unlike on previous occasions, the inhabitants of the region decided to remain in their homes and, as a consequence, they bore the brunt of the Norman campaign. Symeon says that they 'trusted in their innocence'[4], but were subjected to cruel atrocities as Odo's men exacted their revenge. Even the Church of Durham itself was not spared and Symeon accuses the Bishop of Bayeux of looting some of the ornaments of the cathedral including a sapphire-encrusted pastoral staff.[5]

From this account it appears that Odo's operations were based on Durham and it may be doubted whether he and his men managed to punish Walcher's murderers who, it has been argued,[6] were to be found amongst the Northumbrian nobility living to the north of the Tyne. The building of the *novum castrum* on the north bank of the Tyne by Robert Curthose, at the end of 1080, would seem to support this reconstruction of the events of that summer.[7] In November, 1080 William I had despatched his son to Scotland at the head of an army in order to bring Malcolm III to heel after the Scots' invasion of 1079.[8] On his return from a largely fruitless mission, Robert constructed a castle to protect an important crossing over the Tyne. This castle, which was too far south

to act as an effective base of operations against the Scots, was built to give Alberic, the new earl of Northumbria, a bridgehead into territory as yet not fully under Norman control.[9]

The massacre at Gateshead had deprived William I of both a bishop and an earl for, since the execution of Waltheof in 1075, Walcher had been exercising comital as well as episcopal authority.[10] The Conqueror decided against committing both offices into the hands of one man once again and instead made two appointments. Alberic (or Aubrey) de Courcy [11] was given the earldom, whilst the bishopric of Durham was entrusted to William, Abbot of St Vincent's, Le Mans. It is not clear as to when Alberic received the earldom [12] although it is probable that the new earl would have made his way northward under the protection of either Odo of Bayeux or Robert Curthose.[13]

Earl Alberic is an obscure figure [14] whose tenure of the earldom seems to have come to an ignominious end shortly after his arrival in the North East of England. The *Historia Regum* noted that the earl was '...of very little use in difficult affairs [and] returned to his homeland.' [15] The Conqueror seems to have made a serious error of judgement in appointing Alberic, although the recent events in the earldom of Northumbria must have daunted even the most ruthless of the Norman aristocracy. The elevation of Abbot William to the see of Durham proved to be a far more effective appointment.

The main source for the career of Bishop William is the fourth book of Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*. [16] Apart from that, there is the tract *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi Episcopi per Willelmum regem filium Willelmi Magni*, [17] and references in *cartae*. As will be seen, Symeon's work must be treated with considerable caution, especially as

the Bishop was the founder and *ex officio* abbot of the monastery of which Symeon was a member.

Bishop William was appointed to the see of St Cuthbert on 9 November 1080 and consecrated by Thomas I, Archbishop of York on 3 January following.[18] His ecclesiastical career began, as did those of many of his episcopal and abbatial colleagues [19], among the clergy of the cathedral of Bayeux. His father became a monk in the abbey of St Calais (or St Carilef) [20], and William followed him there.[21] He enthusiastically adopted the monastic way of life and, displaying a talent for administration, he soon rose to become prior. By 1078 [22] William had been elected Abbot of St Vincent's, Le Mans, in the politically volatile county of Maine which lay between the Duchy of Normandy to the north and the lands of the Counts of Anjou to the south. As abbot of a monastery in the strategically important city of Le Mans [23], William's considerable political acumen was employed by the Conqueror and, in addition, he came to the notice of the French monarch and the Pope.[24] The situation in Maine [25] bears a striking similarity to that in the North East of England. Maine, like Northumbria, was a buffer state between two rival powers and both regions had a nobility which was ready to revolt if the opportunity should arise.[26] It seems likely, therefore, that it was William of St Calais' reputation for political adroitness as much as his spiritual qualities which recommended him to the Conqueror for the episcopal throne at Durham.[27]

Bishop William's consecration took place at Gloucester in January 1081 at an ecclesiastical council presided over by the king.[28] One source says that St Calais was consecrated by King William's order and

with the consent of Archbishop Lanfranc, suggesting that the appointment was carefully scrutinized so as to obviate the possibility of charges of canonical irregularity.[29] There is no indication that the Community of St Cuthbert was consulted in the matter, although, admittedly, this would have been unlikely. Probably before the end of January 1081, therefore, Bishop William visited his see.

For Symeon of Durham the greatest achievement of the episcopate of William of St Calais was the establishment of a convent of Benedictine monks at Durham in 1083. The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* builds up to this event which, at a stroke, radically altered the ecclesiastical profile of the Church of St Cuthbert. The introduction of monks necessitated the disbandment of the Anglo-Saxon Community which had preserved the relics of the saint and the traditions of his Church since the exodus from Lindisfarne in 875. Such an act of aggression required justification and it was with this purpose that Symeon compiled his *Historia*, between 1104 and 1107, on the orders of his monastic superiors.[30]

Symeon's work forms the basis for any appraisal of the pontificate of William of St Calais and it must be examined carefully in order to avoid reproducing, *verbatim*, the version of events which Symeon laboured to construct.[31] The *Historia* is the work of an ecclesiastical polemicist eager to salve the corporate conscience of the Benedictines at Durham, and to present the monks as the worthy possessors of the relics of St Cuthbert.

For Symeon and his monastic superiors the ideal expression of Christian piety was the monastic life governed by the Rule of St Benedict. According to this ideal, this standard, all others forms of

religious experience were judged. Bishop William of St Calais is portrayed by Symeon as a champion of the monastic ideals of St Benedict [32], but there was also a more worldly side of the Bishop, a side which exploited that acumen for politics which had recommended him to King William in the first instance. St Calais was no recluse content to remain in claustrum. He was an ambitious and, perhaps, even an unscrupulous man, ready to take on important tasks for his royal master, and not averse to participating in hazardous political adventures if they seemed to serve his purpose.[33]

These political activities of Bishop William are largely glossed over by Symeon who felt bound to emphasise St Calais' spiritual works in the bishopric. It is difficult to believe, however, that these pious works of Bishop William were entirely devoid of political calculation. He was, after all, drafted into the North East of England by William I to help pacify a volatile region. St Calais chose to impose a new order in Durham rather than try to accommodate, as his predecessor had done, the components of the traditional structure of Northumbrian society. At the centre of this structure was the Community of St Cuthbert and it was this which Bishop William sought to dominate.

Symeon records Bishop William's initial encounter with his bishopric;

Igitur sedem episcopatus sancti Cuthberti gratia Dei adeptus, terram illius paene desolatam invenit, locumque quem sacri corporis sui praesentia illustrat, negligentiori quam eius deceret sanctitatem servitio, despicabiliter destitutum conspexit. Nam neque sui ordinis ibi monachus, neque regulares repperivit canonicos. Unde gravi moerore confectus, Deum et sanctum Cuthbertum sedulo et suppliciter rogavit, ut sibi ad emendandum, quae minus convenientia viderat, consulando succurrerent, et succurrendo perficerent.[34]

The desolation referred to was the result of Odo Of Bayeux's activities in the summer of 1080 [35] and it is probable that the *Haliwerfolc* and their land still bore the scars of that campaign. Symeon suggests that St Cuthbert's shrine was being neglected, a situation which was an insult to the Confessor's sanctity. It is possible that the numbers of the Community had been reduced by the slaughter at Gateshead [36] and the punitive expedition which followed, but it is likely that Symeon exaggerated the degeneration of the Church's liturgy in order to support his argument that Bishop William was justified in expelling the Community. The constitution of the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* was regarded by Bishop William as very irregular, and he could recognise '*...neque sui ordinis ibi monachos, neque regulares...canonicos*' [37].

Symeon went on to describe how Bishop William went about correcting these irregularities. To begin with, he made enquiries and learned from 'the elders and more knowledgeable men of the whole bishopric' [38] that the original composition of the Church of St Cuthbert on Lindisfarne had been monastic. There is no indication as to who these '*senes et prudentiores...homines*' might have been, but it is likely that they were the members of the *Congregatio* itself. Although St Calais was to use their testimony to justify their eventual expulsion, there is no reason to believe that they had prior knowledge of his intention. Indeed such an interest in the history of their Church shown by the new Norman Bishop would have been welcome and the information freely given.

The oral testimony which was forthcoming was supported by references to the *Vita sancti Cuthberti* and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Anglorum*. As has been stated above, Bishop William's ideal of monasticism was that which was lived according to the Rule of St

Benedict and so it was assumed that, in the intervening period between Cuthbert's death and the late eleventh century, the pristine Benedictine Convent had degenerated into an unrecognisable and corrupt ecclesiastical corporation.[39] In large measure it was this fall from Benedictine grace which, according to Symeon, justified the ejection of the *Congregatio* in 1083.

In order to appreciate more fully the significance of the events of 1083 and penetrate the wall of polemic erected by Symeon, it is necessary to attempt to reconstruct the constitution of the pre-monastic Community at Durham. Fortunately Symeon was not able (or perhaps did not want) to wholly obscure the Community which he and his fellow monks succeeded as guardians of the relics of St Cuthbert. Acknowledgement of the role played by this corporation, in the preservation and augmentation of the traditions of the Confessor's Church, along with a desire to portray that corporation as decadent, led Symeon into setting down several inconsistent and contradictory passages. It is as though, whether purposely or sub-consciously, Symeon felt a need to give credit to the Community for its conscientious guardianship of St Cuthbert's relics.

It is also possible to augment the scanty references Symeon makes by consulting the historiographical material produced by the pre-monastic Community itself. In this respect the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*[40], the *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* preserved in the *Liber Ruber*[41], some pre-twelfth century memoranda in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*[42] and the tract *De Obsessione Dunelmi*[43] are especially helpful.

The *Prefatio* to Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* sets out the author's thesis as to the origin and development of the Church of St Cuthbert.[44] Symeon deals with the establishment of the see of Lindisfarne by Oswald and Aidan in 635 and the Church, a church served by monks, is portrayed as the fount of Christianity in Bernicia.[45] The next significant event was, according to Symeon, the arrival of the Scandinavians at the end of the ninth century.

Northanhymbrorum autem provincias atrocius devastans, omnes ecclesias, omnia monasteria ferro et incendio delevit, adeo ut nullum pene Christianitatis signum post se discedens reliquerit.[46]

Part of the Community of Lindisfarne which was, at this stage, still monastic, fled the island with the body of St Cuthbert, whilst those monks who remained were treated with cruelty by the Scandinavians.[47] The year 875 marked the destruction of the monastic assembly which had been so intimately connected with the shrine of St Cuthbert.[48]

Symeon's *Prefatio* continues with the key passage explaining how the monastic community was transmuted into the irregular corporation which Bishop William discovered in 1081;

Peremptis autem, ut dictum est, memoratae ecclesiae monachis parvuli qui inter illos nutriebantur et instituebantur sub disciplina diligenter, quoquo modo evadentes manus hostium corpus quidem sancti confessoris comitati sunt; sed tradita sibi districtione paulatim postposita, ecclesiasticam disciplinam odio habuerunt, remissioris vitae illecebras sequuti. Nec erat qui eos sub ecclesiastica censura coerceret, utpote cultura Dei destructis monasteriis et ecclesiis poene deficiente. Seculariter itaque omnino viventes, carni et sanguini inserviebant, filios et filias generantes. Quorum posterii per successionem in ecclesia Dunelmensi fuerunt nimis remisse viventes, nec ullam nisi carnalem vitam quam ducebant scientes, nec scire

volentes. Clerici vocabantur, sed nec habitu nec conversatione clericatum praetendebant.[49]

It was, then, according to Symeon, the exodus from Lindisfarne in 875 and the seven year 'wandering' which brought about the relaxation of monastic discipline in the Community of St Cuthbert. Symeon emphasises that Bishop Eardulf took the *parvuli* with him and this is significant in that the young men were more likely to relax the monastic Rule than their elders who had become inured to it. The older members of the monastery remained behind to meet their deaths on Lindisfarne.[50] The passage is vague, however, about the period when the monks finally abandoned the rule and gave themselves up to the '*...remissioris vitae illecebras...*'[51]. The implication made by the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* is that the novices decided to abandon the rigours of monastic discipline simply because it was too difficult to maintain in the changed circumstances. Symeon allows these monastic apostates some excuse by saying that the general decline in the Northumbrian church meant that there was no guidance available to them. But, in the end, the decision to abandon monasticism was a voluntary one, taken because '*...ecclesiasticam disciplinam odio habuerunt.*' The members of the pre-monastic Community of Durham were, therefore, justifiably ejected in 1083 because their ancestors had voluntarily abandoned the monastic life which had originally obtained at the shrine of St Cuthbert.

The voluntary rejection of the regular life is re-emphasised by Symeon when he speaks of Walcher's attempted reforms. In a passage, which has echoes of that which Symeon was to use when describing Bishop William of St Calais' arrival in Durham [52], Walcher, on finding that

the church was occupied by neither monks nor canons, made enquiries as to the original constitution of the Church of St Cuthbert.[53] Despite the fact that Walcher was himself a secular clerk from Liège [54], Symeon assures his reader that the Bishop intended to restore monasticism to the shrine of St Cuthbert. Fortuitously Benedictine monasticism was in the process of being reintroduced to Northumbria by Aldwin and his companions [55] and Walcher fostered the growth of this movement by granting the monks the old Northumbrian sites of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth.[56] For Symeon Aldwin's arrival in the North was akin to the re-establishment of Christianity itself;

Exultat in his vehementer episcopus, quoniam per hos sperabat sacrae religionis augmentum, ubi poene totius honestatis et pietatis invenerat defectum.[57]

It was only Walcher's death which prevented him from bringing the monks to Durham.

Symeon's *Prefatio* continues with the story of Bishop William's establishment of the Benedictines at Durham. Once again he states that the original foundation at Lindisfarne had been served by monks and that it had been due to the destruction of these monks by the pagans that the church had lapsed from its primitive constitution.[58] The *Prefatio* ends with a statement which is the very bedrock of Symeon's argument. After describing the introduction of the Benedictine Convent, Symeon concludes, '*Sicque ad illum monachicae conversationis ordinem non novum instituit, sed antiquum Deo renovante restituit.*'[59]

By emphasising the Benedictine Convent's links with the original monastic establishment on Lindisfarne, Symeon bypasses almost two

hundred years of the Community's history in glossing over the contribution of the *Congregatio* to the preservation of the traditions of the Church of St Cuthbert.[60] Such in broad outline is Symeon's justification of the establishment of a Benedictine Convent at Durham in 1083. It is necessary to examine the constitution of the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* in order to determine whether Symeon has given an accurate representation of the pre-Conquest history of the Church of St Cuthbert and the reasons for the reforms of 1083.

If it was Symeon's intention to adhere to the argument which he set out in his *Prefatio*, then he wandered from his purpose. These departures from the 'official line' provide the historian with most of the surviving information on the community which preceded the Benedictine Convent. To begin with, Symeon asserted that monastic practices had died out after the evacuation of Lindisfarne in 875.[61] However, there are several indications that certain elements, at least, of the monastic liturgy were preserved in the services of the Church of St Cuthbert until the time of Bishop William of St Calais. Symeon admits that the *Congregatio* retained offices of the day recommended by the Rule of St Benedict, in that the psalms were sung at the prescribed hours, but he added immediately that this was the only point in which they adhered to the traditions of primitive monasticism as passed on by their fathers.[62] Walcher discovered this practice upon his arrival in 1071 and at once instructed the Community to employ the secular office, a directive which, incidentally, rather contradicts the idea that he intended to establish monasticism at Durham.[63] Symeon explains this retention of the monastic liturgy as being due to the fact that those who abandoned Lindisfarne had, been educated, nevertheless, by monks. It

was natural that they should wish to preserve the only form of worship which they knew [64], especially as no alternative service could be offered by the other Northumbrian churches which had been eradicated by the Scandinavian invasions.

An important tradition maintained by the pre-Benedictine Community at Durham was that of having the episcopal throne occupied by a monk. This tradition had its origins in the fact that Aidan, the founder of the see of Lindisfarne, and Cuthbert were both bishop and abbot. Symeon reports that St Cuthbert's body was,

...constantly attended by Bishop Eardulf, who like his predecessors, was also a monk, and by Eadred monk and abbot as long as they lived. After these, the bishops who succeeded them up until the time of Bishop Walcher...were accompanied by two or three monks.[65]

According to the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* the tradition was only disregarded three times and in each case the secular who assumed control of the bishopric either died or was expelled from the see.[66] It is possible to see an obliquely delivered criticism of the pontificate of another secular, Ranulf Flambard, who was Bishop of Durham at the time at which Symeon was writing.[67]

The eleventh-century evidence from the *De Obsessione Dunelmi* and Symeon's *Historia* suggests how this tradition of a monastic bishop worked out in practice. The tract *De Obsessione Dunelmi* concerns the descent of certain estates which Bishop Aldhun, (987-1016) [68], granted to his daughter, Ecgfritha, as a dowry.[69] Symeon tactfully omits any mention of Aldhun's daughter, preferring instead to concentrate on the Bishop's translation of the relics of St Cuthbert to Durham in 995.[70]

It is likely that the Bishop was a member of the Northumbrian aristocracy and that he was required to adopt the monastic habit when he ascended the episcopal throne. Symeon's account of the election of Edmund illustrates this process in action.[71]

On Bishop Aldhun's death [72] there was a vacancy of nearly three years caused, Symeon explains, by the unwillingness of any member of the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* to abandon the pleasures of the world and take up the monastic habit which was a necessary corollary of election to the episcopal office.[73] The situation remained at stalemate for so long because 'according to canon law' a bishop had to be chosen from among the members of the Community. As has been seen [74], the early eleventh century saw the intrusion of bishops of Durham from outwith the North East of England as part of royal attempts to establish some influence in the area. Symeon's comment on the necessity to chose a candidate from the Community itself may refer to the period of Edmund's election or, again, it may be a remark directed against the appointment of Flambard.

After a vacancy of three years at Durham, a certain priest, Edmund, put his name forward 'as a jest' [75], only to find that a myterious voice issuing from Cuthbert's tomb supported his candidacy.[76] Edmund accepted the position and, after successfully seeking confirmation of his apointment from Cnut [77], he visited the monastery of Peterborough where he enlisted the help of a certain monk who instructed him in the monastic life.[78] This monk was Egelric who later became bishop. Egelric brought his brother, Egelwin, and a few other Benedictines from Peterborough to help him administer the see. The fact that Edmund had to seek instruction in the *vita monastica* outside the bishopric of Durham

suggests that, by the third decade of the eleventh century there was no-one at Durham who was recognised as a monk. It is possible, therefore, to see Edmund's election as heralding a rebirth of monasticism at Cuthbert's tomb sixty years before William of St Calais' reforms.

Thus, the last Anglo-Saxon bishops of Durham presided over a community which was, in part at least, monastic and containing a small group of Benedictine monks recently introduced from the house of Peterborough which had been established in 966 by Bishop Ethelwold, one of the architects of the tenth-century monastic renaissance.[79] There is, however, no suggestion that any attempt was made to reform the Church of St Cuthbert in the tenth century, despite the Community's close links with the royal House of Wessex in that period.[80] In the light of this fact, Symeon's assertion that monasticism had died out at Durham seems even more suspect.

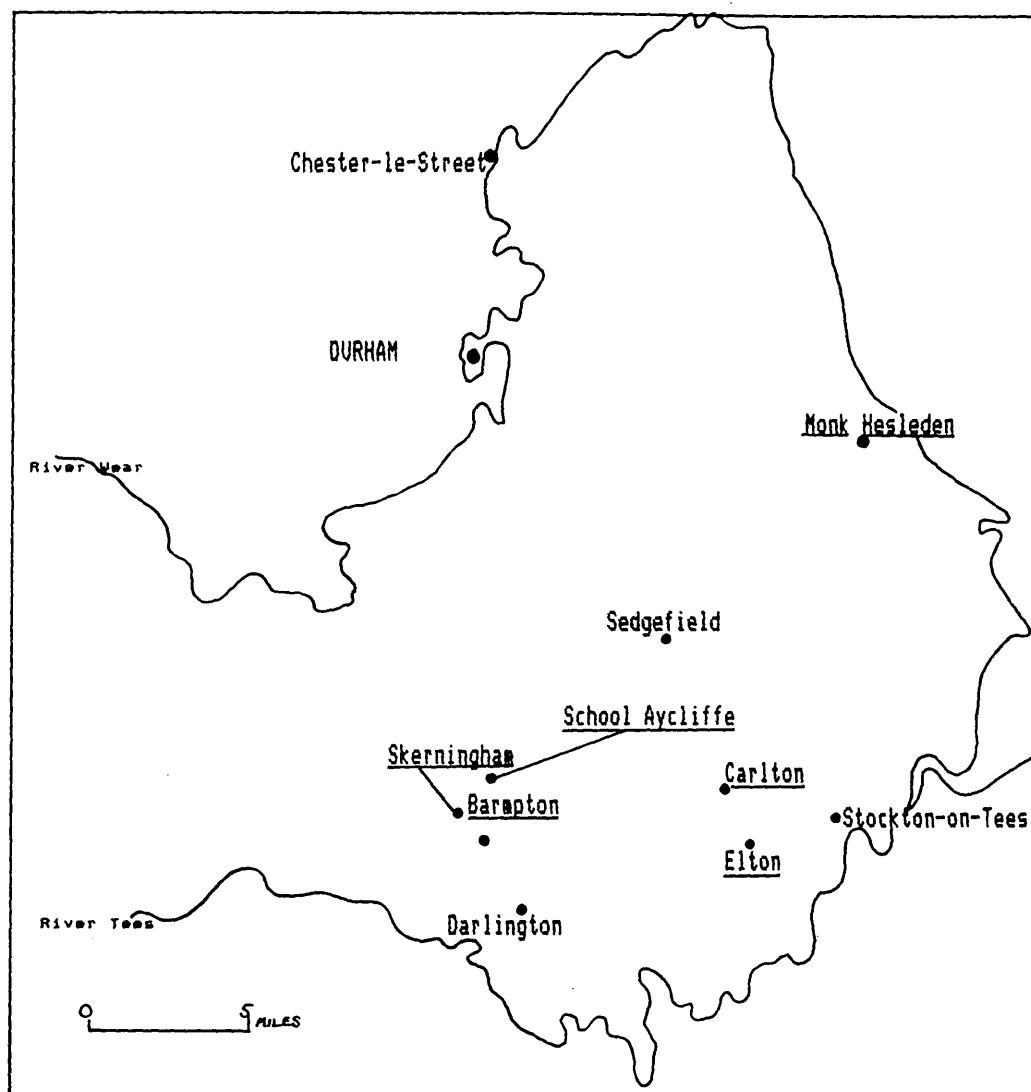
The Bishop's relationship with the community over which he presided is illustrated with reference to the various land transactions conducted on behalf of the Church of St Cuthbert. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* records the early gifts made to the Church during its successive locations at Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street and Durham. Invariably the donations were made to the saint himself or 'to God and St Cuthbert'[81]. Cuthbert, although deceased, was the 'undying landlord'[82] of his Church's estates and anything donated to, or alienated from, the Church was gained or lost by him personally.

During the tenth century and into the pontificate of Aldhun, the Church of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street and Durham was forced to respond to the uncertain political situation in Northumbria. As has been seen, pressure on the Community's estates was exercised by the Scots to

the north and the Scandinavian kingdom of York to the south. An alliance with the powerful house of Wessex was cultivated and this resulted in visits by Athelstan and Edmund to the shrine. The Community seems to have taken other measures as well in order to ensure its continued possession of its estates, and these measures had a direct bearing on the constitution of the Church of St Cuthbert.

In the first place there are records of the Bishop and the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* leasing lands to various Northumbrian nobles in return for their service or rent [83]. It is probable that these leases were made by the Community in the hope that these earls would be able to defend these estates and the Church itself against the onslaught of St Cuthbert's predatory neighbours. The grants were made by the Bishop and the *Congregatio* acting in unison.[84] Occasionally, the bishops are recorded as purchasing land *de pecunia sancti Cuthberti* [85] which, rather than implying any separate endowment reserved to the episcopal successors of the confessor, probably suggests that the treasure of the saint was held in common but dispensed by the bishop. Bishop Aldhun's alienation of lands presents a problem as it seems that in granting the estates as a dowry for his daughter, he was treating the property of the Church as if it was his own. It is stressed, however, that each time Ecgfrida was rejected, the estates were to be returned to St Cuthbert, although, in practice, this did not happen. The granting of these *villae* was an attempt to forge links between the Community and the powerful families of Northumbria through the marriage of the Bishop's daughter. The advantages of such an arrangement would have been recognised and it is unlikely that the Community would have objected.

Fig. 4. 0. The Dowry of Ecgfrida.

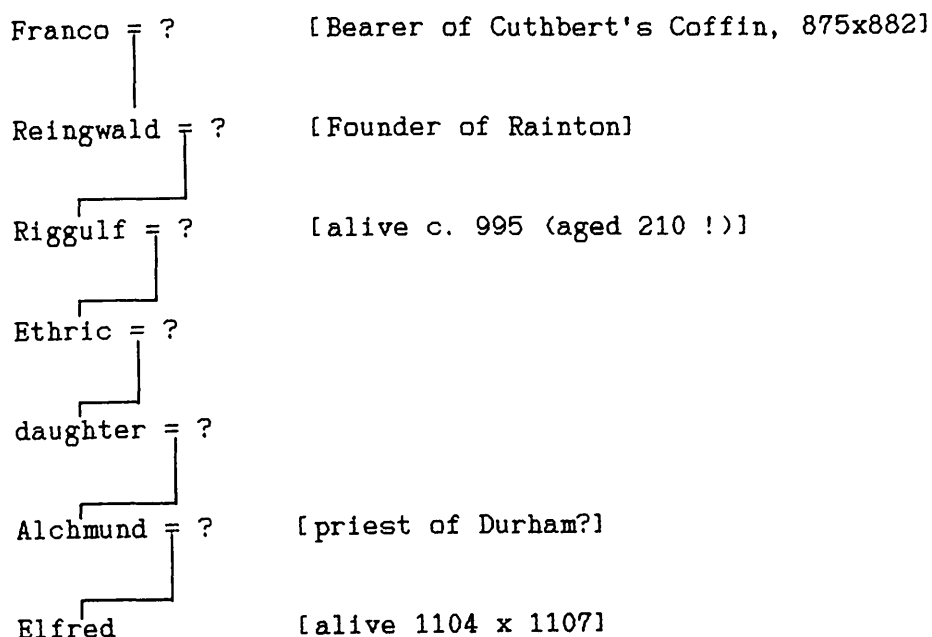


Source; The tract, *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, in SMO, I, p. 215. ...et has villas de terris ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti, scilicet, Bermetun, Skirningheim, Eltun, Carltun, Heaclif, Hesledene, cum ea sub illa conditione, ut eius filiam quamdiu viveret in coniugio cum honore semper servaret, [Barmpton, Skerningham, Elton, Carlton; School Aycliffe, Monk Hesleden].

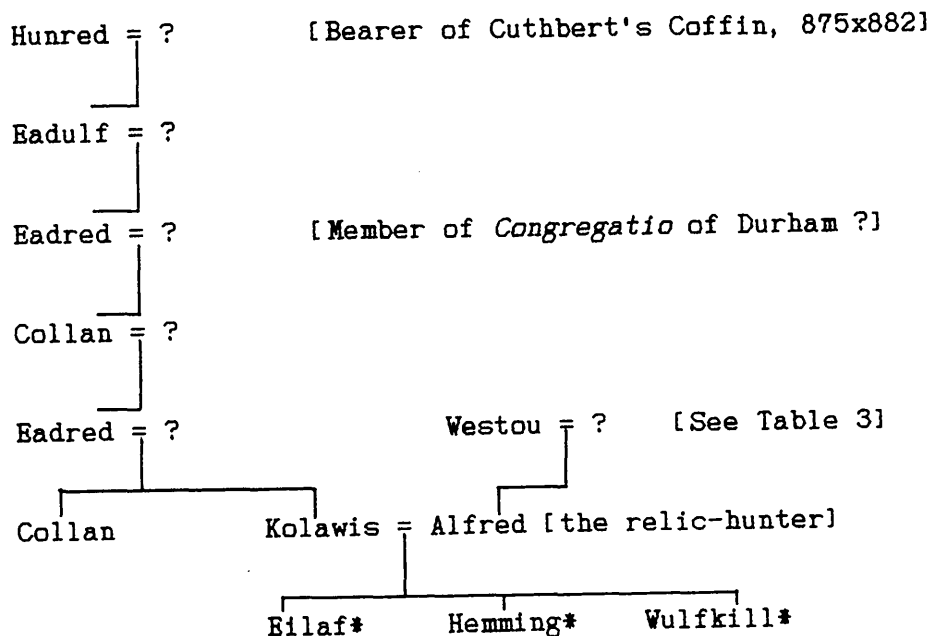
As well as recruiting the Northumbrian aristocracy to defend its estates, the Community also developed a more direct method of maintaining its hold on its land. The *Congregatio*, as described by Symeon, consisted of married priests living at Durham and serving the Church of St Cuthbert. They do not seem to have shared the communal life outside the confines of the cathedral since each priestly family had its own tenement in the city.[86] In addition, there is evidence that this clergy had an hereditary interest in the estates of the Church. There are several examples of this phenomenon ranging in detail from a brief notice in the late twelfth-century *Libellus* of Reginald of Durham that one of the canons of Durham possessed an hereditary prebend of the estate of Bedlington, to the much fuller account of the hereditary priests of Hexham.[87]

Symeon's *Historia* noted that the descendants of two of the original seven porters of St Cuthbert's coffin during the 'wanderings' of the late ninth century, could still be traced at the end of the eleventh century.[88] For example, one of these porters was a certain Franco. His son, Reingwald, was credited with founding the estate of Rainton [89] and the family line could be traced to a certain Elfred who was alive when Symeon was writing. Elfred's father, Alchmund, was a married priest and probably a member of the Community.[90] Another of these bearers of St Cuthbert's coffin was Hunred whose descendants continued to serve the saint's shrine until the late eleventh century.[91]

The most detailed account of the hereditary priesthood of the bishopric of Durham is that of the family from which Ailred of Rievaulx was descended. Most of the information is derived from an interpolation in the *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* [92], and an account of the

Genealogical Tables.Fig. 4.1. The Family of Franco.

Source; HDE, I, p. 80

Fig. 4.2. The Family of Hunred.

Sources; HDE, I, p. 80; Craster, AA, 4th ser., I, (1925).
 [* Priest. Alive 1104x1107]

church of Hexham contained in a late twelfth-century manuscript of the Life of St Cuthbert.[93] The last recorded bishop of Hexham was Tidferth who died *circa* 821-22, and it seems that the diocese was swallowed up by the Church of St Cuthbert during the tenth century.[94] From around 1000 appears a succession of priests and provosts [*presbyteri et prepositi*] [95] who seem to have been responsible for the administration of the church and estates of Hexham. Both of these offices were hereditary.

One of the scions of the sacerdotal family was Alfred son of Westou [96], the assiduous gatherer of relics and linked by marriage to the prestigious family of Hunred. Alfred's activities at Durham during the middle decades of the eleventh century required him to appoint a priest to look after the spiritual needs of Hexham. These curates were also married clergy and their post was passed on from father to son in the same way. Alfred's three sons all became priests and one of them, Eilaf, was treasurer of the Community ousted by William of St Calais in 1083. James Raine argued that Eilaf's indignation at the imposition of a Benedictine Convent at Durham prompted him to offer the church of Hexham to Thomas I, Archbishop of York provided that he could continue to possess it.[97] The church was passed on to Eilaf's son, Eilaf II until the family's position was undermined by the establishment of a priory of regular canons at Hexham in 1113.[98]

Alongside these priests of Hexham, the Bishops of Durham appointed provosts to administer the temporalities of the church. This office also became hereditary as is witnessed by the line of provosts described in the Account of the Church of Hexham.[99]

Thus, there is substantial evidence that the pre-monastic Community of St Cuthbert developed a mechanism for controlling and retaining its

Fig. 4.3. The Hereditary Priests of Hexham.

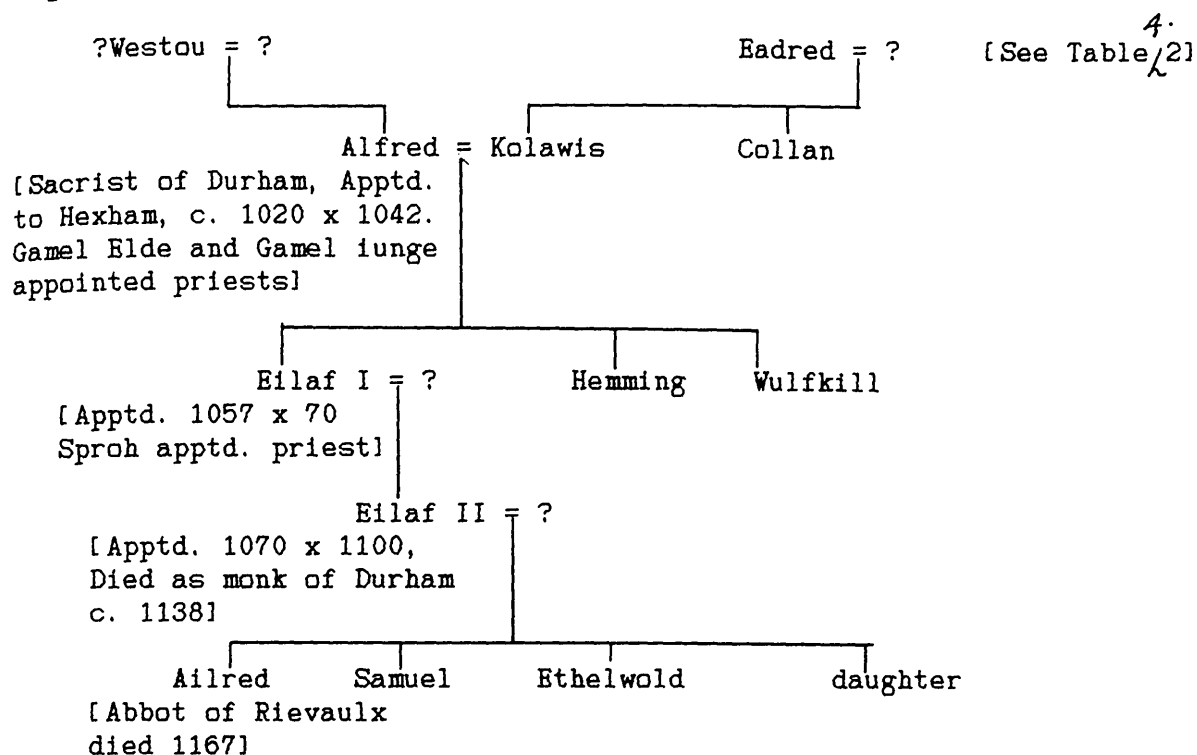


Fig. 4.4. The Provosts of Hexham

Collan, son of Radred [Apptd. 990 x 1016; possibly of the family of Hunred. See Table 2.]

Ulkill, son of Arkill son of Wincune* [Apptd. 1020 x 42]

Collan [Apptd. 1042 x 57, brother-in-law of Alfred Westoul]

Ulkil, son of Ihuringe [Apptd. 1057 x 71]

Uhtred, son of Ulkill [Apptd. 1057 x 71, transferred lands of Hexham to jurisdiction of York]

(* Brother of Bishop Aldhun ?)

Sources; J. Raine, *Hexham*, I, pp. 1-1xix, App. iv, pp. vii-viii;
Craster, RBD, p. 524;

estates which relied upon the extremely tenacious ties of family interest for its success. These priests and their counterparts, the provosts, had an incentive in keeping these estates bound to the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* and it was this factor that, in large measure, was responsible for the remarkable degree of proprietorial continuity exhibited by the Church of St Cuthbert throughout a period in which other ecclesiastical corporations were suffering severe diminutions of resources.[100]

Here and there in the sources there are references to certain priests, some of whom are named, from whom information on the history of the see of St Cuthbert was gathered. Symeon claimed that he had either heard their evidence at first hand or had received it via one of his brother monks. For example he records the miraculous cure of a crippled Scotswoman at St Cuthbert's shrine in Aldhun's cathedral. His authority was the testimony of '...certain religious and venerable priests who were eyewitnesses of the event.' [101] The election of Bishop Edmund provides another example.[102] A priest who had heard the disembodied voice issuing from Cuthbert's tomb proclaiming Edmund as bishop, passed on the story to his son and eventually Symeon heard the tale from the priest's grandson.[103] Also Symeon preserves the story of the miraculous properties of a hair from St Cuthbert's head. Alfred, son of Westou who, as sacristan had access to Cuthbert's coffin acquired an indestructible hair from the saint with which he would amaze his friends.

For he used to fill a censer with red-hot coals, and lay that hair upon them, and although it remained there for a long while it could not be consumed by the flames, but it grew white and glittered like

gold in the fire, and after it had remained there for a long while, when it was removed it gradually recovered its former appearance.[104]

Symeon then goes on to give his authority for this miracle,

Not only did many of his disciples witness this miracle but one of the brethren of this monastery, named Gamel, a man of simplicity and humility (who now rests with the Lord) swore that he had often seen the same occurrence.[105]

For Gamel to have witnessed this miracle several times he must have been very close to Alfred. He may have been one of the boys who were instructed by the sacristan in the service of God and might be identified with the *Gamel Iunge* who was the son of Alfred's curate of the church at Hexham. It is also significant that Gamel became a member of the Benedictine Convent since, elsewhere, Symeon assures his audience that only the Dean of the *Congregatio* accepted the monastic habit in 1083.[106] If this is the case, then the degree of continuity between the pre- and post-1083 communities at Durham was much greater than Symeon seems at first glance to admit.

The *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* discovered by Bishop William of St Calais in 1081 was, therefore, a body of married priests which had at its head a dean, yet whose bishop was a monk whose closest advisers were also regulars.[107] The bishop and Community made grants of land jointly as *biscop 7 hired* [108] and acted as custodians of the relics of St Cuthbert. In an age only just beginning to regard written documents as evidence of ownership, possession of the relics of St Cuthbert's church was possession of the title deeds to much of North East England.[109] In the magnificent Anglo-Saxon cathedral constructed by Bishops Aldhun and

Edmund [110], a monastic liturgy was performed in honour of God, St Mary and St Cuthbert.[111] There may even have been nuns at Durham further complicating the situation, although Aldhun's daughter, who is said to have taken the veil after her third husband's repudiation of her, may have established herself as a solitary anchoress near Durham rather than within the Community itself.[112]

This eccentric constitution of the pre-Benedictine *Congregatio* has caused problems of definition from the time of Bishop Walcher onwards.[113] According to Symeon, Walcher could not understand why a body of what appeared to be secular clerks was using a monastic liturgy. Seeking to clarify the situation, he tried to introduce the secular rite but, it appears, without much success.[114] Symeon's statement that Bishop William found '...neither monks of his own order, nor any canons regular' can, to a degree, be sustained by the evidence.[115] The *Congregatio* was a hybrid, neither wholly monastic, nor wholly secular. It was *sui generis*, a product of the unique circumstances of its history, preserving elements consistent with its monastic origins, but also displaying characteristics which were the result of its adaptation to the pressures of attempting to maintain the integrity of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert.[116]

Symeon claimed that Bishop William's motive for replacing this quasi-monastic community was that he was '...saddened to the heart to see the place unprovided with the fitting ecclesiastical and monastic arrangements.'[117] Clearly, Bishop William's conception of 'fitting arrangements' was coloured by his espousal of Benedictine monasticism. The situation at Durham was irregular and to a man who was the product of the Benedictine communities of Normandy, and an administrator of some

note, such irregularity was anathema. But the desire to ensure that the Church of St Cuthbert should conform to recognised ecclesiastical standards was not the only motive which prompted St Calais' reforms of 1083. The Community of St Cuthbert was intimately connected with the society of North-Eastern England through the hereditary possession of its estates. This gave the Church of Durham considerable political power and influence which it had demonstrated over the centuries. It is hard not to believe that William of St Calais realised this fact and so attempted to disenfranchise the Community by replacing it in 1083.

In a papal bull purporting to have been issued by Gregory VII, there is the suggestion that the members of the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* were, in some way, involved in the murder of Walcher.[118] If this is true then Bishop William had ample reason for the disbandment of the Community. It has been argued above, however, that there is no evidence to connect the Church of Durham, or even the *Haliwerfolc* with the events at Gateshead.[119] The accusation only appears in this one document which was a confection of the last decade of the twelfth century.[120] None of the early twelfth-century chronicles of Durham repeat this imputation. The forged papal bull was one of a series of false diplomas which were used by the Convent in its struggles with the Bishop during the twelfth century. If the opinion that the pre-Benedictine Community had been involved in Walcher's death was current at the beginning of the twelfth century, it is hard to see why Symeon did not employ this very damaging piece of information in his *Historia*.

A development in the cult of St Cuthbert after 1083 represents an attempt to justify the attack on the hereditary landholding of the Community of Durham, which was the main motive behind St Calais'

actions. After 1083 St Cuthbert became a misogynist. Lurid stories were recorded of the fate of women who tried to worship at his shrine or even set foot within the precincts of his cathedral or other churches intimately connected with his cult. According to Symeon, the ban on women derived from the corruption practised in the double monastery of Coldingham.[121] As punishment for these excesses, the monastery was destroyed by fire shortly before Cuthbert's episcopate, (685-687). Cuthbert secluded his monks from female company to avoid a repetition of the events at Coldingham by building a 'Green Church' on Lindisfarne which the women were to use exclusively.[122] Symeon ends this explanation by saying, '...and thus the entry of a woman into the church became entirely forbidden.'[123] Dr Victoria Tudor has examined this phenomenon [124] and has suggested possible reasons for this novel addendum to the cult. It may be that the misogyny 'arose naturally' as the Benedictine Convent sought to distance itself from a possible source of sin. The aims of the Gregorian Reform movement may also have had some influence on attitudes to married clergy, although there is no reason to believe that the reformers had any more success at Durham than they did elsewhere.[125]

Symeon includes a miracle story in which he describes what happened when a married priest, Feoccher, who had recently slept with his wife attempted to conduct Holy Communion. At first he refused to officiate at the service, but was pressured into doing so by a large gathering of nobles who wished to take communion before opening the session of a court held near Durham. As Feoccher put the chalice containing the host to his lips '...he saw that the portion of the Lord's Body, which, according to custom he had placed within, changed, along with the Blood

into a most revolting sight, and, as he later confessed, that which he saw resembled the colour of pitch rather than bread and wine.'[[126] Feoccher realised his sin and hurried to Durham where the Bishop (Egelric) enjoined penance on him. The story was reported by the son of Feoccher himself and by two of the bishop's chaplains, '...who afterwards were inmates of this church, having assumed the monastic garb.'[[127] Symeon leaves his audience in no doubt as to the significance of the incident; it was '...an awful example [of] how God's certain anger hangs over the ministers of the altar if they dare approach that holy mystery without chastity.'[[128]

Although concern for the spiritual welfare of those who ministered in the Church of St Cuthbert probably played a part in the development of the ban on women at Durham, the impetus came from the necessity to wrest control of the church's estates from the hereditary *Congregatio*. The women whom the members of the *Congregatio* married, were the agents of proprietorial stability in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. Through Alfred Westou's wife, Colawis, for example, the possession of the church of Hexham was linked to a family which could trace its roots back to Hunred one of the heroes of the Community of St Cuthbert.[[129] By outlawing contact with women, and by introducing a celibate order of monks at Durham, Bishop William was at once strengthening his own position as bishop by establishing a cathedral chapter of which he was also *ex officio* abbot, and also attacking the land-holding mechanism which bound the estates of the Church of St Cuthbert to the structure of Northumbrian society.

Symeon claimed in his *Historia* that there was an almost complete change of personnel in the Church of St Cuthbert in 1083. All but one of

the members of the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* refused to accept the monastic habit proffered by Bishop William. The exception was the *decanus* of the Community who was persuaded by his son to join the newly established Convent. That there were links between the *Congregatio* and the Benedictines at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth is shown by the fact that the dean of Durham's son had joined Aldwin's house.[130]

The ejection of the *Congregatio* from the cathedral which it had served for nearly a century, and the large scale attack on their tenure of St Cuthbert's estates, was a bold move from the Bishop whose predecessor had been murdered only three years before. This was an act of ecclesiastical aggression which affected the very fabric of the diocese, and yet it seems that the *Haliwerfolc* accepted the situation passively, for neither Symeon nor other contemporary accounts report any violent reaction to the changes. Compared to the bloody confrontation at Glastonbury when Abbot Thurstin tried to impose a Norman liturgy on the monastic Community, the wholesale reforms at Durham, as described by Symeon, were accepted with a suspicious lack of resistance.[131] It is hard to believe that the members of a Community, which had so tenaciously maintained the shrine of St Cuthbert over so many centuries, would simply walk away from their cathedral allowing another ecclesiastical corporation to usurp their places. The history of Northumbria indicates that resistance to outside interference was rarely met with pacific acceptance. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the events of 1083 and their aftermath more closely and attempt to describe the provenance of those who made up the body of the Benedictine Convent. It may then be possible to explain why a potentially traumatic break seems to have occurred relatively peacefully.

Archbishop Lanfranc seems to have had an influential role in the establishment of the Benedictine Convent at Durham. Although they were later to become adversaries [132], Lanfranc and William of St Calais worked together on the reform of the Church of St Cuthbert. Monastic cathedral chapters were a peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon Church and unknown in Normandy. The concept appealed to the Norman abbots who were appointed to the English bishoprics as it gave them a greater measure of control, as *ex officio* abbots of their cathedral chapters, and preserved the monastic environment with which they had become accustomed. Lanfranc's reforms at Christ Church, Canterbury, were adopted as the model for Bishop William's reorganisation at Durham and those of Bishop Gundulf at Rochester. The close relationship between Lanfranc and Gundulf, both in personal and ecclesiastical matters [133], explains why Rochester followed Canterbury's lead, but the reason for Lanfranc's influence at Durham is less immediately obvious. Symeon's account of Bishop William suggests that he was a great adherent of the ideals of monasticism [134], and yet he was content to allow Lanfranc's *Consuetudines*, derived largely from Cluniac usages, but preserving some of the customs of Bec and Caen [135], to form the basis of the monastic regime introduced at Durham. Bishop William's role in royal administration may have kept him too busy to devote any time to composing a constitution for his monks. Lanfranc's rivalry with Thomas I, Archbishop of York which arose from his concern to establish his primacy over the English Church, may have prompted him to interfere in the affairs of Durham, the archbishop of York's only suffragan bishop.[136] Alternatively, it may simply be that Lanfranc was recognised as the leading churchman and authority on monasticism in England, a fact which encouraged Bishop William to seek his assistance. Whatever the reason, Lanfranc's influence in the

reforms at Durham was considerable. For example, one of the books thought to have been brought to Durham by Bishop William, (Durham Cathedral MS B.iv.24) contained a number of works associated with the day-to-day government of the monastery. The *Consuetudines Lanfranci*, as well as the Rule of St Benedict in Latin and Old English were available to the Convent.[137]

Having made his enquiries as to the original constitution of the Church of St Cuthbert, Bishop William sought approval for his plans from the highest secular and ecclesiastical authorities, namely Pope Gregory VII, Archbishop Lanfranc, King William I and his wife Matilda. [138] Symeon describes these preliminaries in great detail which suggests that he was anxious that the legitimacy of the reforms should be beyond question. Bishop William asked the advice and assistance of his superiors '...so that no-one should later set aside his arrangements, arguing that they were his own private acts'.[139] This might be seen as referring to opposition in 1083 from the local community at Durham and particularly from the displaced *Congregatio*. However, it is more likely to reflect the burgeoning tensions between the Bishop and the Convent which, as will be seen, were the feature of the pontificate of William of St Calais' successor, Ranulf Flambard.[140] Flambard was not a monk and his usurpation of estates which the Convent considered its own may have prompted Symeon's superiors to instruct him to leave no doubt as to the authority upon which the foundation of the monastic chapter at Durham rested.[141]

Symeon claimed that Bishop William travelled to Rome on the king's business, presumably in 1082, and, whilst there, persuaded Gregory VII of the justice of his plans. The Pope despatched letters to William I and to Lanfranc and provided St Calais with a bull signifying that his project had

won the approval of the see of St Peter. However, Symeon overstated his case. The papal letters to the king and his archbishop, together with Gregory VII's bull and charters of confirmation from William I, Lanfranc and Thomas I, would have constituted an impressive corpus of documents. It would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for anyone to challenge the legitimacy of a corporation which could display such an array of muniments, and these foundation charters would have been guarded jealously by the monks. It seems incongruous, therefore, to discover that none of these documents survives in an authentic form amongst the archives of the Church of St. Cuthbert.[142]

The Benedictine Convent at Durham possessed several documents which purported to be the foundation charters referred to. Upon these the monks based their claims to rights, privileges and landed estates which, they felt, were being threatened by the bishops during the twelfth century. This subject will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter, but it is enough to state at this stage that the foundation charters of the Convent, alluded to by Symeon, appear, in their present form at least, to have been concocted during the pontificate of Hugh du Puiset, when the disputes between the monks and their bishop were at their height.[143] For example, the document purporting to be the papal bull [144], brought back by Bishop William and displayed in 1083, was, in the opinion of G.V. Scammell, not produced before circa 1190.[145]

Symeon's account of the establishment of the Convent in 1083 seems, on this evidence to be suspect. However, his *Historia* may, indeed, preserve a reasonably accurate, if somewhat idealised, record of the events. The forging of charters became more and more prevalent during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Canterbury, for example, produced no less than three

sets of forged documents to support rival claims to various privileges of St Augustine's, Christ Church and the archbishop.[146] Forgeries were updated as new claims arose or others lapsed and, as a result, it is possible to witness the changing fortunes of the corporation which produced the spurious documents by comparing the successive recensions, (provided, of course that they survived).

The series of foundation charters of the Convent of Durham were based on a relatively early confection preserved in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*. [147] The opening section of this document was, itself, based on Symeon's account of the establishment of the monastery in the earliest known manuscript of the *Historia*, rendered into the first person to simulate the wording of a charter. Symeon himself may have used an authentic document which was revised and discarded soon after its issue to take into consideration rapidly changing circumstances. For example, one of the early forgeries based on the document which was the basis of the *Liber Vitae* entry, added clauses supporting the Prior and Convent's claims to extensive privileges within the bishopric.[148] In this way, the original documents, which Symeon records as having been granted, became obsolete and a potential threat to the Convent's claims if they should have fallen into the wrong hands. That said, other considerations would also seem to undermine Symeon's account.

Relations between William I, Lanfranc and the papacy at the beginning of the 1080s were strained due, amongst other things, to the king's unwillingness to declare his opposition to the anti-pope Clement III and swear fealty to Gregory VII.[149] It is to be doubted, therefore, that the relationship was sufficiently cordial for the Pope to be included in any plans which the king and Lanfranc had made to reform the Church of St

Cuthbert. Symeon's account seems on balance to be an idealised description of the *fundatio monasterii* in which the concerns of the monks, at the time which he was writing, were removed two decades into the past. As with other elements in Symeon's *Historia*, this episode must be carefully scrutinized in order to correct the distortion created by the author's loyalties.

Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* suggests that the introduction of the monks into the Church of St Cuthbert, in 1083, marked an almost complete change of personnel serving the Confessor's shrine. As has been mentioned [150], Symeon says that only the dean of the *Congratio* agreed to become a monk in the Convent. The rest of the monastic body was composed of individuals brought to Durham from the recently refounded monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth.

In 1073, three monks inspired by reading of the monasteries and saints of Northumbria in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, made their way to the bishopric of Durham from the Vale of Evesham.[151] Aldwin, prior of the house of Winchcombe decided to visit the holy sites in the North East of England and there devote himself to a life of poverty and contemplation amid the ruins. He made his way to Evesham where he was joined in his enterprise by Elfwy, a monk of the house, and Reinfrid, a Norman who had been a knight in William I's service. The Abbot of Evesham, AEthelwig, allowed them to break their vow of stability on the condition that Aldwin assumed responsibility for the monastic discipline of his companions. Abbot AEthelwig (1066-1078), and Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester, (1062-1095), have been seen as the personification of the ideals of the Old English Church.[152] As a result of their involvement, Aldwin's expedition to the North of England has been interpreted as an attempt to preserve Old English ecclesiastical customs in the face of the Norman-inspired reforms.[153]

The small group made its way to York where the sheriff, Hugh fitz Baldric, provided a guide to take the monks on towards *Munecaceastre*[154] on the north bank of the Tyne, which was the site of an Anglian monastery. The site was under the jurisdiction of the earl of Northumbria although it lay within the bishopric of Durham.[155] Symeon does not indicate why Aldwin and his companions failed to visit St Cuthbert's shrine, the most famous pilgrimage site in Northumbria. Subsequent events suggest that the travellers sought to avoid contact with the Bishop of Durham and were, indeed, interested only in leading a simple, ascetic existence.[156] There is no reason to believe that Aldwin would have been unwelcome at Durham and it seems, therefore, that a conscious decision was made to evade episcopal control.

Bishop Walcher's attitude to Aldwin and his companions presents certain difficulties. Symeon regarded Walcher as the herald of the foundation of 1083, cultivating the communities of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth that were eventually to provide the recruits for the Convent established by William of St Calais. Walcher was, according to Symeon, a monk in all but name and he even began to construct monastic buildings near his cathedral in which he would have installed the monks had he not been murdered in 1080.[157] Certain details in Symeon's account make the assertion that Bishop Walcher was an advocate of monasticism seem suspicious. To begin with, Walcher was a secular clerk from the church of Liège and, upon his arrival in Durham, he had tried to suppress the monastic offices being used by the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* replacing them with a secular liturgy.[158] As for the monastic buildings which Walcher is supposed to have begun, Symeon, as ever, interpreted data in a way which does not seem entirely justified. The foundations which Walcher had laid out came to be

the monastic quarters of Symeon's day, but they may equally have been intended by the Bishop as the layout of the communal buildings of a college of secular canons.[159] Finally, Dr Hall has suggested that Walcher's acquisition of the estate of Waltham may have been significant, for the church there was served by a college of canons which had been established by Harold Godwinson with the advice of a certain Athelard, a countryman of Bishop Walcher. Had he survived, Walcher may well have drawn upon Waltham for the personnel to replace the *Congregatio* at Durham.[160]

For someone committed to encouraging the re-establishment of monasticism in his diocese, Walcher's treatment of Aldwin and his companions seems, at times extremely uncompromising. After Aldwin's arrival at *Munecaceastre*, Walcher offered him the Church of St Paul at Jarrow, which lay on the south bank of the Tyne. Earlier he had tried to persuade the pilgrims to move from *Munecaceastre* arguing that, '...they would do better to accept a residence under the jurisdiction of the Church rather than remain under the secular power'.[161] St Paul's church had been burnt down by William I's army during the winter of 1069-70 and so, for shelter, Aldwin was forced to erect a lean-to amid the ruins.[162] Symeon's description of the companions constructing a covering of branches and hay, beneath which they restored the divine service to Bede's monastery, begins to read more and more like a *fundatio* myth rather than a strictly accurate historical account.[163] As the number of the monks grew Walcher gave them the ancient estate centred on Jarrow '...so that they might finish their works and live in comfort'.[164]

In around 1076, Aldwin left Jarrow in the care of Elfwy, and established himself with a disciple, Turgot, at Melrose, the site of another early Anglian monastery where Cuthbert had adopted the monastic

habit.[165] Symeon interprets this removal as being due to Aldwin's desire to re-establish the church of another ruined holy place, and he notes that Malcolm III persecuted him because he would not take an oath of fealty to the Scots crown. Malcolm may have feared that the re-establishment of a monastery at Melrose might bring with it encroachments into his jurisdiction by the earls of Northumbria. Walcher's reaction to Aldwin's departure was to despatch a series of letters requiring him to return to Jarrow,

'...and, at length, threatened that he and all the clergy and people would excommunicate them in the presence of the most holy body of St Cuthbert, unless they would return to him and live under the protection of the saint.'[166]

Walcher's action, taken, it should be noted, in the name of the 'clerks and all the people', suggests that he was anxious to control Aldwin's activities in Northumbria. It also militates against the notion that Aldwin's expedition was part of a deliberate policy of encroachment on the Scottish realm sponsored by the Norman authorities at Durham. Needless to say, Symeon interpreted this episode as an expression of the Bishop's desire to cultivate the monastic refoundations, and he states that when Aldwin returned to the bishopric, Walcher gave him the church of Wearmouth to refurbish. In addition, Aldwin was frequently called to Durham to consult with the Bishop.[167] Walcher's actions are those of a diocesan concerned to keep a tight rein on the activities of men whose reconstruction of monasticism in his bishopric was being met by an enthusiastic response which itself posed a threat to the position of the Church of St Cuthbert at Durham.[168] Rather than snuff out the nascent

movement, Walcher decided to attempt to control it and the frequent meetings and consultations with Aldwin were designed, therefore, to keep a close watch on the monks. At about the time that Aldwin and Turgot left Jarrow for Melrose, Reinfrid relocated to St Hilda's shrine at Whitby. The monks whom he gathered together there eventually moved on again to York, establishing the community of St Mary's abbey.[169]

The gradually spreading monastic revival attracted recruits from the local population, as well as others from beyond Northumbria. The son of the dean of the *Congregatio* took up the monastic habit and eventually succeeded in persuading his father to do the same when the Benedictines transferred to Durham. The comital family also lent its support to the movement, with earl Waltheof committing his infant nephew, Morkar, to the care of the monks at Jarrow.[170] At the same time, Waltheof is supposed to have granted the monks the church of Tynemouth which was later to be at the centre of a dispute with the abbey of St Albans.[171]

The list of names which appears in the Cosins manuscript of Symeon's *Historia*, represents the monks who served the Church of St Cuthbert during the twelfth century.[172] Symeon tells us that Bishop William brought twenty-three monks from Jarrow and Monkwearmouth to Durham on Friday 26 May 1083, and handed over the care of the cathedral to them on Whitsunday, the 28th. The first twenty-three names in the manuscript appear to be those of the original monastic complement of the Convent.[173] The decision to amalgamate the monasteries was made because the diocese was too small to accommodate three institutions competing for patronage.[174] The foundation of the monastery at Durham was marked by an elaborate dating formula in Symeon's *Historia* referring to the events which he considered to be the most significant in the history of the Church. These were; the death of St

Cuthbert; the establishment of the church at Durham by Aldhun; the beginning of William I's reign, and the arrival of Aldwin in the North east of England.[175]

The list of monks' names shows a change in the calligraphy after the name of Edmund who appears at number seventy-three. This number may, therefore, represent those men who were members of the Convent between its foundation and the time at which Symeon's manuscript was compiled. It is possible to identify some of those who were members of the original complement of 1083. A high proportion of the names would seem to indicate monks of Anglo-Saxon origin, probably those men who Symeon records as having been recruited from the North East, the South and other, remoter, parts of England.[176]

A number of references suggest that a significant proportion of this body of monks established at Durham in 1083 had been members of the *Congregatio* which Bishop William had disbanded.[177] This need not be surprising as there is no reason to doubt the devotion of members of the pre-monastic Community of St Cuthbert. Many of them would, therefore, have been reluctant to abandon the church which their families had served for generations. Even Symeon admits that the *Congregatio* had maintained the services of St Cuthbert's tomb in trying times.[178] The power of tradition should not be underestimated and, although joining the Benedictine Convent involved a repudiation of their wives and the loss of their hereditary estates, the desire to continue to serve St Cuthbert must have made any decision to leave Durham very difficult indeed. Moreover, it is not certain that family interests in the Church's lands were entirely dissolved by the establishment of the Convent. In addition to the notion that, by becoming members of the Convent, individuals could at least claim a share in the

corporation's possession of family estates, there is a suggestion that local dynasties retained a part, at least, of their hereditary lands. The estate of Cocken, for example, remained a possession of the family of the priests of Hexham until Eilaf II donated it to the Convent on joining the monastery in 1138.[179]

There was, therefore, a great degree of continuity between the personnel of the pre- and post-1083 communities at Durham.[180] The liturgy had remained characteristically monastic and many of the monks would have been familiar to the local population, or perhaps, like the dean's son, or, later, Eilaf II of Hexham, they were actually scions of local dynasties. These men embodied the link between the old Northumbrian institution and the monastery newly founded by Bishop William. Symeon's account seems to contain a number of inconsistencies which cumulatively suggest that his description of disruption in the ecclesiastical establishment at Durham was exaggerated.

Symeon's *Historia* was written as a justification of the foundation of the monastic Convent in 1083. His work formed part of a series of expedients by which the monastery's leaders sought to link the Norman regime to the cult of the greatest of the Northern English saints. Although it was not as pronounced as Symeon suggested, there was disjunction in 1083. The idea of *renovatio*, so central to the construction of the *Historia*, forced its author to exaggerate this disjunction in his attempt to link the monasteries of twelfth-century Durham and seventh-century Lindisfarne. This necessarily involved diminishing the relative importance of the unusual *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* which had played such a vital role in preserving Cuthbert's cult. The idea that all the members of the

old *Congregatio* left in 1083 is but a logical extension of the *renovatio* thesis: a new beginning required new personnel.[181]

Symeon's ideas may have struck a chord with those of his brethren who had been members of the *Congregatio*. In 1083 these men cast aside their old, secular lives and took up a monastic life which was recognised as being a more perfect expression of Christian piety. There was, then, a *renovatio* on a personal level, complementing that of the ecclesiastical corporation as a whole. Those members of the Convent who had once lived as seculars in the *Congregatio* would, in the fervour of their conversion, condemn their previous way of life as vehemently as any of their monastic brethren. This condemnation of their former lives might spring from varying degrees of sincerity, but even the least pious of the converts would be obliged to pay lip-service to the 'official' version of the spiritual uncleanness of their secular existence. This may also go far in explaining why there was no great outcry at the events of 1083. In addition it must also be remembered that Symeon's work was an official history and not the work of someone seeking to write an objective account. Like all 'official histories', Symeon's work distorted the past until it presented the picture which his superiors wished to be passed on to succeeding generations.

The changes wrought in the constitution of the Church of St Cuthbert during the pontificate of Bishop William of St Calais were, therefore, more gradual than has usually been assumed. The degree of continuity discussed above associated the Norman regime with the Church of St Cuthbert and prevented a violent reaction from the *Haliwerfolc* to this apparent usurpation of their patron saint.

This gradual change in the ecclesiastical profile of the Community of St Cuthbert is demonstrated in the history of the building of the Norman Cathedral at Durham. Bishop William of St Calais returned from exile in 1091 and began work on the Romanesque church which today dominates the city of Durham. Symeon's description of the laying of the foundations has usually been understood as suggesting that Aldhun's Anglo-Saxon minster, itself a magnificent building, was demolished before work on the Norman cathedral began.[182] M.G. Snape pointed out that Symeon's words need not necessarily imply that interpretation.[183] Recent, slightly unorthodox, archaeological investigations whose results have been supported by analysis of the documentary evidence, have suggested that the Anglo-Saxon minster and the Norman cathedral existed side-by-side at least until the great Translation of St Cuthbert's body from one to the other took place in 1104.[184] The site of Cuthbert's shrine in the Anglo-Saxon minster was marked with a cenotaph which stood in the cloisters until the Dissolution and it is this fact which suggested that the two churches had stood side-by-side for at least ten years.[185] The symbolism of this transference of the relics would have been obvious and would clearly have marked the final legitimisation of the regime which Bishop William had introduced into Durham in 1083.

If, therefore, the changes at Durham took over twenty years to complete and involved the co-existence of elements of the Northumbrian and Norman traditions, then it is less surprising that there was no violent reaction of the kind which had been witnessed at Glastonbury. The members of the pre-1083 *Congregatio* who became monks of the Benedictine Convent were, like the Anglo-Saxon cathedral gradually overshadowed by the Norman edifice, figures of continuity who enabled the *Haliwerfolc* to witness and

accept change without feeling that an abrupt catastrophe had occurred obliterating at a stroke precious traditions. The Benedictine Convent established at Durham in 1083 was neither a relic of the Northumbrian past nor a provocative innovation of the new Norman ecclesiastical hierarchy. It was a combination, an amalgamation of both elements; truly Anglo-Norman in constitution.

Endnotes.

1. See above cap. 3, pp. 119-23
2. Walcher's death occurred on 14 May 1080 and it is doubtful whether Odo's expedition would have reached Durham before the middle of June. [HR, II, p. 211; HDE, I, p. 118]
3. HDE, I, p. 118. '*... Odo Baiocensis episcopus, qui tunc a rege secundus fuerat, et multi cum eo primates regni cum multa armatorum manu Dunelmum venerunt, et, dum mortem episcopi ulciscerentur, terram pene totam in solitudinem redegerunt.*'
4. HDE, I, p. 118. '*Miseros indigenas, qui sua confisi innocentia domi resederant, plerosque ut noxios aut decollari, aut membrorum detruncatione praeceperunt debilitari. Nonnullis, ut salutem et vitam pretio redimerent, crimen falso imponebantur.*'
5. HDE, I, p. 118. '*Quaedam etiam ex ornamentis ecclesiae, inter quae et baculum pastorem materia et arte mirandum, erat enim de saphiro factus, praefatus episcopus abstulit, qui, posito in castello militum praesidio, protinus abscessit.*'
6. See cap. 3, pp. 121-22
7. D.J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the castles in England and Wales and the Islands*, [2 vols.], II, pp. 338-339. HR, II, p. 211. W.H. Knowles, 'The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne', AA, 4th series, II, (1926), pp. 1-52, at pp. 1-2.
8. See cap. 7 p. 329; C.W. David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 31.
9. See W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, p. 142.
10. See above, cap. 3, p. 117
11. F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, [3rd. edn.], p. 614, identifies Alberic as Aubrey de Courcy.
12. Kapelle, citing the vague entry in HR, sa. 1072, says, 'Before the year was out, William of St Calais, a trusted administrator of the king, obtained the bishopric of Durham, and around the same time, a certain Aubrey became earl of Northumbria.' [*The Norman Conquest of the North*, p. 142 and n.82]
13. As Kapelle implies, op.cit., p. 142.
14. Although earl Aubrey witnesses several royal writs, none of these can be said to be above suspicion. See, RRAN, nos., 11*, 34*, 90*, 137*. No. 137* suggests that the forger at least believed that Aubrey was still an earl in May 1081. [RRAN, p. 36].

15. HR, II, p. 199 (sa 1072), '*Inde rex dedit illum honorem Albrico. Quo in rebus difficilibus parum valente, patriamque reverso...*'
16. HDE, I, Lib. IV, caps. i-x, pp. 119-35.
17. Printed in SMO, I, pp. 170-95. Translation in EHD, II, no. 84, pp. 609-24. See also, H.S. Offler, 'The tractate *De Iniusta vexatione Willelmi Episcopi primi*', EHR, lxvi, (1951), pp. 32-41, where the tractate is dated to the period, 1125-1150. Professor Barlow has suggested that the tract may, in fact be of an earlier date than Offler thought, (See *The English Church, 1066-1154*, p. 281, n.46).
18. For William of St Calais' career, see HDE, Lib. IV, cap. i, pp. 119-20 and H.S. Offler, 'William of St Calais, first Norman Bishop of Durham', in TAASDN, X, pt. iii, pp. 258-79.
19. F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, p. 58.
20. The monastery of St Calais lies in the département of Sarthe to the south-east of Le Mans in Maine. [See L. Froger, *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de St Calais* cited by H.S. Offler, TAASDN, X, p. 261 note].
21. Offler suggests that William of St Calais was a native of the Bessin, [TAASDN, X, pt. iii, p. 261]. The Bishop's mother, Ascelina, was remembered in the Durham Martyrologium, LVD, SS vol. 13, ed. J. Stevenson, p. 140.
22. For this date, see Offler, TAASDN, X, p. 262.
23. Abbot William would have been especially valuable to William I at Le Mans during the period 1078-80, when the nominal lord of Maine, Robert Curthose, was at odds with his father. It was, perhaps, at this period that William of St Calais won the favour of Robert which, in 1088, he was able to exploit in seeking refuge from Rufus in Robert's duchy.
24. HDE, I, p. 120.
25. For William I's relationship with the County of Maine, see D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, *passim*.
26. The uprising in the North of England in 1068-70 was paralleled by a rebellion fomented by Count Fulk of Anjou in Maine in 1069-73. Le Mans was at the centre of the disturbances and it was only in 1073 that Angevin influence was checked. See D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 223, 228-229.
27. HDE, I, pp. 119-120. *Erat enim pontificali ministerio satis idoneus, ecclesiasticis et secularibus litteris nobiliter eruditus, in divinis et humanis rebus multum industrius, morum honestate ita compositus, ut per id temporis nemo in hac ei putaretur esse praeferendus. Inerat illi etiam tanta ingenii subtilitas, ut non facile quis occurreret, qui profundius consilium inveniret. Cum gratia*

sapientiae, multa ei suppetebat facultas eloquentiae. Erat et memoriae tam tenacis, ut in hoc etiam nimium esset admirabilis.

28. *Councils and Synods*, I, ii, 1066-1204, pp. 629-32.

29. 'The Latin Acts of Lanfranc', in Earle & Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, I, p. 289. Cited by Offler, *TAASDN*, X, p. 265. Cf. *HDE*, p. 119, '...ab ipso rege electus...'

30. *HDE*, I, p. 3. 'Exordium huius, hoc est, Dunelmensis ecclesiae describere maiorum auctoritate iussus...'

31. See, for example, Battiscombe's reliance on Symeon's account in his 'Historical Introduction' to *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, esp. at pp. 50-53.

32. *HDE*, I, p. 120. *Cibo ac potu satis erat sobrius, vestimentis semper mediocribus usus, fide catholicus, corpore castus. Et quoniam magnae familiaritatis locum apud regem habuerat, monasteriorum et ecclesiarum libertatem, in quantum potuit, defendere semper ac tueri curabat.*

33. Offler, [*TAASDN*, X, p. 279], calls St Calais an 'opportunist', whereas other commentators have been less charitable. See, for example, R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, p. 32; Mandell Creighton, in *DNB*, III, s.v. Carilef, 'It is hard to reconcile the clever, selfish, unscrupulous statesman with the wise administrator and sagacious reformer of his diocese. He was probably a man whose cleverness did not go beyond the capacity to do what seemed obvious for the moment.' Battiscombe, *RSC*, p. 52, says that William of St Calais was an '...opportunist...in his character was more than a streak of the careerist.' As well as being frequently in attendance upon the king, (see, for example, *RRAN* nos., 220, 235-236, 274-275, 278, 282, 284), and being employed upon diplomatic missions, it has been suggested that St Calais was one of the circuit commissioners for Domesday in the South West of England, (V.H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, (Oxford, 1961) p. 36). Indeed, according to P. Chaplais, he may also have been the 'man behind the survey', directing it and supervising its compilation. ['William of St Calais and the Domesday Survey' in ed. J.C. Holt, *Domesday Studies: Papers Read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers*, Winchester, 1986, pp. 65-77 at p. 77]. Recently, Dr C. Lewis has cast doubt on Chaplais' thesis, ['The earldom of Surrey and the date of Domesday', *Historical Research*, 1990, pp. 329-336]. In 1088 Bishop William joined a revolt against Rufus, the failure of which forced him into exile in Normandy where Robert Curthose entrusted him with the government of the duchy. [F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 74-77. This episode provides the historical background to the tract, *De Iniusta vexatione...*].

34. *HDE*, I, p. 120.

35. See above p. 136

36. Leobwin, the *decanus* of the *Congregatio*, and several priests met their deaths along with the Bishop at Gateshead, although it is not possible to say how many of these were members of the Community and how many were part of the episcopal household. [HR, II, p. 210]

37. HDE, I, p. 120.

38. HDE, I, p. 120. '*Igitur senes et prudentiores totius episcopii homines...*'

39. It is not stated which of the *vitae* of St Cuthbert was consulted, but one of the books, thought to have been amongst those owned by Bishop William, was a copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Anglorum*. [Durham Cathedral Library, Ms B.II. 35; See R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 47, p. 41]. For a discussion of the early history and features of 'Northumbrian Monasticism', see the article by A. Hamilton Thompson in *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings. Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of His death*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, (Oxford, 1935). It is, by no means certain that the monastery over which Cuthbert presided was as purely Benedictine in observance as Symeon suggests. A passage in the *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo*, suggests that Cuthbert devised a rule of his own which the monks of Lindisfarne observed '...along with the Rule of St Benedict.' Cuthbert's rule was probably heavily influenced by the Celtic monasticism in which he had been instructed. Cuthbert's adherence to the practices of the Celtic church was played down by Bede and later Symeon, both of whom portray the saint as a paragon of Benedictine monasticism. [See, B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert* pp. 94, 96. *Vivens quoque ibi secundum sanctam scripturam, contemplativam vitam in actuali agens, et nobis regularem vitam primum componentibus constituit, quam usque hodie cum regula Benedicti observamus.*]

40. HSC in SMO, I, pp. 196-214. Partial translation in EHD, ed. D. Whitelock, no. 6, pp. 261-63.

41. *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* in H.H.E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', EHR, 40, (1925), pp. 504-35.

42. H.H.E. Craster, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Records of the See of Durham', AA, 4th series, I, (1924).

43. *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, in SMO, I, 215-20.

44. HDE, I, pp. 7-11.

45. HDE, I, p. 7. *Ex hac ecclesia omnes ecclesiae et monasteria provinciae Berniciorum sumpserunt exordium.*

46. HDE, I, pp. 7-8.

47. It should be noted that later Symeon says that all the monks withdrew from the island. (See HDE, I, pp. 57-8)

48. HDE, I, p. 8. *Tali modo monachica congregatio defecit apud corpus sancti Cuthberti.*

49. HDE, I, p. 8.

50. In the year before his death Bede had complained to Egbert, Archbishop of York,, of falling standards in monastic practices in Northumbria. [See 'Letter of Bede to Egbert, archbishop of York' in EHD, ed. D. Whitelock, no. 170, pp. 735-45] It is possible, therefore, that monasticism was in decline before the abandonment of Lindisfarne in 875, although, as the mother church of Bernicia, the monastery there may have retained higher standards longer. For a discussion of the organisation of the pre-850 church in county Durham, see E. Cambridge, 'The Early Church in County Durham: A Re-assessment', JBAA, 137, (1984) pp. 65-82.

51. HDE, I, p. 8.

52. Cf. HDE, I, p. 9 and pp. 120-1.

53. HDE, I, p. 106.

54. See above cap. 3, p. 113

55. HDE, I, p. 9; Lib. III, caps. xxi-xxii, and below pp. 29-33.

56. See below, pp. 168-71

57. HDE, I, pp. 9-10.

58. HDE, I, p. 10, '*...sed a paganis monachos interficientibus primaeva servitute destitutam.*'

59. HDE, I, p. 11.

60. Symeon devotes the whole of Liber I and most of Liber II to the Church's history on Lindisfarne. The period 883-995 dealing with the establishment at Chester-le-Street receives just eight chapters, and the pre-monastic community at Durham is dealt with in Liber III. If only in terms of this crude quantitative analysis, it is clear that, for Symeon, the most important periods of the Church of St Cuthbert's history were its establishment in seventh-century Lindisfarne and the post-1083 Benedictine era.

61. See above, p. 143 and note 48.

62. HDE, I, p. 8. *Ordinem psalmorum incanendis horis secundum regulam sancti Benedicti institutum tenuerunt, hoc solum a primis institutoribus monachorum per paternam traditionem sibi transmissam servantes.*

63. HDE, I, p. 106 and cf. p. 113. See below pp. 168-9

64. HDE, I, pp. 57-8.

65. HDE, I, p. 58.

66. The three seculars were Sexhelm, (c.942 x 968), Eadred, (1042) and Walcher himself. Admittedly, though, Symeon stresses that Walcher was a monk in all but name. Sexhelm, who is accused of simoniacal practices by Symeon, was stricken with an illness after St Cuthbert had appeared to him in three dreams warning him to abandon the see which he had sinfully obtained, [HDE, I, Lib. II, cap. xix, p. 77]. Eadred purchased the bishopric from Hardacnut with money obtained from the communal treasury at Durham after the death of Bishop Edmund, and for this he was struck down. Walcher was murdered at Gateshead. For the dates of the bishops of Durham, see Janet Cooper, 'The Dates of the Bishops of Durham in the First Half of the Eleventh Century', DUJ, (1968), p. 137.

67. For Flambard's relationship with the Convent; below cap. 5.

68. See Janet Cooper, DUJ, (1968), p. 137.

69. SMO, I, pp. 215-220.

70. See HDE, I, Lib. III, caps. i-iv, pp. 78-84.

71. HDE, I, Lib. III, cap. vi, pp. 85-86.

72. The date of Bishop Aldhun's death has been the occasion for much debate, especially as it is related to an important battle between the Northumbrians and the Scots at Carham. See Janet Cooper, DUJ, (1968), pp. 133-134 and see B. Meehan, 'The Siege of Durham, the Battle of Carham and the Cession of Lothian', SHR, 55, (1976), p. 14 and note 1.

73. HDE, I, p. 85.

74. See above cap. 2, pp. 57ff.

75. HDE, I, p. 85. *Et cum didicisset quod de episcopi electione tractarent, iocose alloquens, 'Cur me', inquit, 'episcopum non eligitis?'*

76. HDE, I, pp. 85-86.

77. For the significance of this royal approval, see above, cap., 2, pp. 57-8

78. HDE, I, p. 86. This suggests that there was no-one at Durham, in 1020-1021, who had first hand experience of monasticism so forcing Edmund to seek help outwith the bishopric.

79. See Edmund King, *Peterborough Abbey, 1086-1310; A Study in the Land market*, p. 6.

80. Above, cap. 2, pp. 49-52

81. For example, HSC, ss. 6-9, 11, 24, 26 etc. The *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* recorded gifts '*...ad ecclesiam sancte Dei genitricis Marie et sancti confessoris Cuthberti*'. Symeon's HDE shifts the emphasis away from the fact that the church at Durham was originally dedicated to the

Virgin as well as to St Cuthbert. There are a number of possible explanations for this post-1083 neglect of St Mary. First, the Benedictines at Durham actively encouraged the notion that Cuthbert had banned women from his church so that the monks might not be tempted into breaking their vow of chastity, (see below, pp. 159-60). As will be suggested this had much to do with breaking the ties of the Community's land-holding, and it would have been much harder to argue for the exclusion of women from a church dedicated to the Virgin. Secondly, Symeon may have wanted to eliminate any formula which suggested that St Cuthbert was anything but completely in charge of his church. Symeon was concerned to make the link between the Confessor and his monks as plain as possible and so, in his *Historia* gifts are recorded as having been made to 'St Cuthbert and those serving his shrine'. Last, Lanfranc's influence on the Benedictine Convent at Durham was great and his suppression of the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Christ Church, Canterbury may have prompted William of St Calais to adopt a similar attitude at Durham. [See F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, p. 195, and note 15.]

82. This phrase is taken from the chapter, 'Undying Landlords' in D.W. Rollason's recent examination of *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 196-211 esp. at pp. 197-202, 205-6.

83. HSC, s.22 records Bishop Cutheard's lease of land to Alfred, son of Brihtwulfing in return for Alfred's service. HSC, s.24 notes that Eadred, son of Rixing paid a fixed rent for his land.

84. The Anglo-Saxon writs recorded in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis* refer to grants made by the *biscop 7 hired*. *Hired* was the Old English equivalent of the latin *familia*, see H.H.E. Craster, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Records of the See of Durham', p. 195 and H.S. Offler, DEC, no. 1, p.1.

85. For example, HSC, s. 21, p. 208, '...Cuthardus episcopus fidelis, emit de pecunia sancti Cuthberti villam vocatur Ceddesfeld...'

86. HDE, I, p. 81. On moving to Durham in 995, the members of the Community each had '...a residence assigned by lot', suggesting that they lived with their families in separate dwellings close to the cathedral.

87. Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, p. 29. An Bilaf of Bedlington witnesses a charter of c. 1085 [HDST, ed. J. Raine, App. xx]. James Raine believed that this Bilaf was one of the sons of Alfred Westou; see below, p. 23 and J. Raine, *Hexham*, I, p. lv.

88. Symeon provides the pedigrees for the families of two of the seven bearers, [Hunred and Francol], and names two others, [Stitheard and Edmund]. Reginald of Durham embellished Symeon's brief details, [*Libellus*, cap. xv, pp. 22-28]. Dr Hall suggests that the porters were 'legendary' and so the names of only a few were remembered, ['The Community of St Cuthbert', p.110]. However, legends are very tenacious and the details of such traditions are invariably carefully stored in the collective consciousness of the community for whom the legend has special meaning. Perhaps the absence of the three other names has more

to do with these pedigrees coming to an end and so no-one in the late eleventh century had a direct interest in preserving their memory.

89. Rainton, (parish of Houghton-le-Spring), [HDE, I, p. 80.]
90. HDE, I, p. 79.
91. See Hunred's family tree and the connexion with that of Alfred Westou.
92. H.H.E. Craster, RBD, pp. 524-525.
93. The Account of the Church of Hexham in British Museum Add. Mss. 39943 as identified by Bertram Colgrave, in *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, pp. 31-32, Ms. no. 22.
94. Or possibly earlier; see Raine, *Hexham*, I, pp. xl-xli. During this period St Cuthbert's acquired the estates of many of the Northumbrian monasteries which had succumbed to the pressures of the Scandinavian settlement and the dissolution of the Northumbrian kingdom.
95. R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965), sv 'prepositio' gives the usual meaning of *prepositus* as 'provost', but it was also used to describe the prior of the Convent at Durham in the late eleventh century. [See, for example, *Capitula de miraculis et translationibus sancti Cuthberti*, SMO, II, caps. ix, p. 338; xi, p. 341, xviii, p. 355, etc.]
96. HDE, I, Lib. III, cap. vii, pp. 97-90.
97. Raine, *Hexham*, I, App. iv, p. viii. See also, W.H.D. Longstaffe, 'The Hereditary Sacerdotage of Hexham', AA, new series, iv, (1859), pp. 11-28.
98. Eilaf II continued as parish priest of Hexham and retained much of the endowment and houses in Hexham and land in Alnwick, [Raine, *Hexham*, p. lxiii].
99. Dr Hall, ['The Community of St Cuthbert', p.112], suggested that Bishop Edmund of Durham appointed a relative of Bishop Aldhun to the provostship, possibly in order to placate a member of the local nobility and offset unfavourable local reaction to Edmund himself, whose links with Cnut might have smacked of royal interference in the region. The reference to Wincune as being Aldhun's brother seems to come from Raine's genealogical table in *Hexham*, I, p.1i, but Raine did not cite his source.
100. For example, the monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, made famous by Bede, were among the most illustrious victims of the Scandinavian depredations. As has been stated above, the church of St Cuthbert gradually acquired the lands of the defunct monasteries. In this context the relic gathering activities of Alfred Westou may have had an added significance. Alfred visited most of the important Northumbrian monastic sites and abstracted the relics of the saints

associated with those churches. The Church of St Cuthbert's possession of these relics symbolised its right to possession of the lands of those saints. [D.W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 1989) p. 212].

101. HDE, I, pp. 81-2.

102. See above, p. 148

103. HDE, I, p. 86.

104. HDE, I, p. 88.

105. HDE, I, p. 88.

106. See Raine, *Hexham*, I, p. liii and the reference to Appendix iv, p. viii.

107. See below, pp. 158-61

108. HDE, I, pp. 91-2. Symeon accuses Bishop Egelric and his monks of seeking to plunder the church.

109. See, for example, Offler, DEC, no. 1, p. 1. Symeon also notes that after the Church of St Cuthbert was plundered in 1069-70, William I ordered that the culprits should be handed over to the Bishop and presbyters for punishment. [HDE, I, p. 101].

See D.W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 208 and note 99 above.

110. A.W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture; I. Before the Conquest*, (Oxford, 1930), p. 88 citing Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, p. 29.

111. C. Hohler, 'The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert', in [ed.] C.F. Battiscombe, RSC, pp. 156, 158-59.

112. *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, SMO, I, p. 217. ...et postea velamen accepit, quod et bene servavit usque ad extremum sui diem, et sepulta in coemiterio Dunelmensi diem retributionis expectat.

113. Reginald of Durham writing in the last third of the twelfth century calls the members of the pre-monastic *Congregatio canonici*, [*Libellus*, p. 29]. Many later historians have been content to use the rather vague term 'secular clergy' to describe the pre-1083 Community, [see J. Raine, *St Cuthbert*; R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, *passim*; some have been wholly non-committal, such as Bertram Colgrave who talked about the '...pre-Benedictine Community', ['The Post-Bedan Miracles and Translations of St Cuthbert', p. 327, n.11]; the Rev. W. Greenwell recognised the difficulties inherent in providing a definition of the constitution of the *Congregatio*, 'It is very doubtful whether they were monks according to the strict rule which ordered such bodies in other places, and later in Durham itself...At the time of the accession of Bishop William of St Carilef the clergy, whom

he found at Durham, were in no sense monks, though whether they could be designated as canons in the fullest acceptance of the term may admit of dispute.', [*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, SS, vol. 58, (1871), ed. W. Greenwell]. Professor Offler followed Greenwell's approach, adding that Walcher succeeded in imposing the customs of secular canons, [TAASDN, X, pp. 266-67].

114. HDE, I, p. 106.

115. That is, if it is presumed that the other Benedictine monks, who had come to Durham from Peterborough with Bishop Egelric, had fled with his brother Egelwin in 1070. See above, cap. 3, pp. 106-8

116. It is difficult to find any direct comparisons with the pre-monastic *Congregatio* at Durham. Perhaps the closest are those corrupt institutions which Bede complained about in his letter to Archbishop Egbert. These were private monastic foundations, generously endowed, and controlled by the family of the founders. [See above note 50.] There are some similarities, especially in methods of communal landholding, with the Welsh clerical communities known as the *claswyr*, although these do not seem to have pretended to monastic status. [See F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1349*, pp. 3-4]. Perhaps, if more was known about the hereditary abbacy of Dunkeld in Scotland, this would offer parallels to the situation at Durham, although there is no evidence to suggest that the leadership of the quasi-monastic community of the Church of St Cuthbert was an hereditary office.

117. HDE, I, p. 10.

118. See Offler, TAASDN, X, p. 267. The Bull alleged the *Congregatio's* complicity in the murder of Bishop Walcher, although, as has been seen this is not proven, [above cap. 3]. *Sicut enim nunciati nobis facinoris qualitas et causa exigere videntur, sacri ordinis et sanctae ecclesiae saevissimos violatores, qui specialem filium sanctae Romanae ecclesiae predecessorem tuum Walcherum episcopum interfecerunt, dictante regni iusticia non solum digna ulcionis poena plecti mandavit, verum etiam Dunelmensis ecclesiae clericos maleactionales, quosdam etiam eorum tam execrabili sacrilegorum prosapia oriundos, propter vitam suam incorrigibilem, auctoritate apostolica, inde penitus eliminari, et religiosae vitae monachos, ... in praefatam ecclesiam Dunelmensem transferendos...* [HDST, App. III, pp. vii-viii.]

119. See above, cap. 3, pp. 118-23

120. G.V. Scammell, 'A Note on the Forgeries Relating to the Rights claimed by the Convent of Durham', Appendix iv, in *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 304.

121. HDE, I, p. 58-60.

122. HDE, I, p. 59.

123. HDE, I, p. 59.

124. V. Tudor, 'The Misogyny of St Cuthbert', AA, 5th ser., xii, (1984), pp. 157-67.

125. See, for example, C.N.L. Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in action', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, xiii, (1956), pp. 1-21.

126. HDE, I, p. 93. '*...ita cum sanguine in teterrimam speciem commutatam vidit, ut, sicut postea fatebatur, magis in calice picis colorem quam panis et vini conspiceret.*

127. HDE, I, p. 94. *Hoc sane ita factum, sicut retulimus, ab ipsius presbyteri filio presbytero, et duobus capellanis episcopi qui postea nobiscum in hac ecclesia in monachili habitu conversati sunt, sicut ab ipso in quo factum est, presbyters didicerant, frequenter referentibus audivimus.*

128. HDE, I, p. 93. *Quo adhuc pontificatum regente, res inusitate facta terribili exemplo ministris altaris proculdubio iram Dei ostendit imminere, si ad sacrosanctum mysterium sine castitate praesumant accedere.*

129. See above, p. 154 and Genealogical table.

130. HDE, I, p. 122.

131. For the Glastonbury incident, see F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, pp. 65, 179 and William of Malmesbury, GR, pp. 329-30 and GP, pp. 196-98.

132. According to the tract *De Iniusta vexatione...*, Lanfranc was the chief prosecutor for the crown in the trial of Bishop William of St Calais in November 1088. See EHD, II, no. 84, pp. 609-624.

133. See R.A.L. Smith, 'The Place of Gundulf in the Anglo-Norman Church', EHR, lviii, (1943); 'The Early Community of St Andrew at Rochester, 604-c.1080', EHR, lx, (1945); *Vita Gundulfi: The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester*, [ed.] R.H. Thomson; *The Life of the Venerable Man Gundulf*, trans. by the Nuns of St Mary's Abbey, West Malling.

134. HDE, I, p. 120.

135. F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, p. 189; M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, p. 27 and passim; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, (London, 1951).

136. It is also significant that Lanfranc's influence reached into the Kingdom of Scotland for, when Queen Margaret sought help in establishing a Convent at Dunfermline, she asked the Archbishop of Canterbury for help. D. Baker, 'A Nursery of Saints: St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered.' *SCH, Subsidia, I; Medieval Women*, p. 137. M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, pp. 127-9.

137. It is particularly significant that the Rule should have been made available in both Anglo-Saxon and Latin for the majority of the recruits for the 1083 Convent were of English origin. [See appendix]. R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 51, pp. 44-45. Mynors believed that this manuscript was in a late eleventh-century Christ Church, Canterbury hand.

138. HDE, I, p. 121.

139. HDE, I, p. 121. '*...ne quis, quae sui solius molimine fecisset, irritanda putaret, regis Willelmi, et coniugis suae Mathildis reginae, et Landfranci Cantuarensis archiepiscopi consilium petivit.*

140. See below, cap. 5.

141. A.J. Piper, ['The First Generations of Durham Monks and the Cult of St Cuthbert', in (eds.) D.W. Rollason, G. Bonner, C. Stancliffe, *St Cuthbert*, p. 442], does not believe that the monks were being realistic if they feared that Flambard would risk the complications involved in ejecting the Convent, but he does concede that Symeon's work illustrates that the monks were apprehensive about the way in which the Bishop's relationship with the Convent was developing. Flambard was not averse to disbanding ancient ecclesiastical corporations as his treatment of the clergy of the minster of Christchurch shows. When he acquired the church, Flambard removed the canons from their residences near the minster and allowed the ancient forms of service to lapse, resulting in the cessation of the communal life at Christchurch. [See P.H. Hase, 'The Mother Churches of Hampshire', in J. Blair, (ed.) *Minsters and Parish Churches*, (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 17, 1988), pp. 49-50. See below, cap. 5.

142. The Forged Foundation Charters have been extensively discussed by Rev. W. Greenwell, [*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, SS, vol. 58, 1871, Preface, pp. xxv-lxxxii], G.V. Scammell, 'A Note on the forgeries relating to the rights claimed by the Convent of Durham, ' Appendix iv to *Hugh du Puiset*, pp. 300-307; and by H.S. Offler in DEC, SS, vol. 179, (1968), nos. 3*, 4*, 7*.

143. G.V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, pp. 128-67.

144. Gregory VII's purported bull printed, HDST, SS, vol. 9, (1839), App. iii, from Durham, Dean and Chapter, Cart. I, f. 1. Cf. W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, II, no. 2.

145. See Scammell's comments, *Hugh Du Puiset*, p. 304.

146. M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, pp. 167-9, 235-6 [St Augustine's], 231-2, [Christ Church], Appendix C 'A Note on the primatial forgeries' and the references cited there.

147. LVD, SS, vol. 13, ed. J. Stevenson, pp. 74-6. Offler, DEC, no. 3*, pp. 6-15. Offler's opinion was that, 'In substance it probably represents pretty fairly what the monastery could have claimed to have acquired by the time of Bishop William's death in 1096.' *ibid.*, p. 9.

148. Durham, DC., 1.1. Pont. 2(b) and 1.1. Pont. 2(a). Offler, DEC, no. 3*(a), p. 24.

149. See *Councils and Synods*, I, part, ii, p. 634.

150. See above, pp. 144 ff.

151. HDE, I, Lib. III, caps. xxi-xxii, pp. 108-113. Anne Dawtry, 'The Benedictine Revival in the North: The Last Bulwark of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism?', SCH, 18, (1982), pp. 87-98; M.D. Knowles, MO, pp. 159-71; A.J. Piper, 'The First Generations of Durham Monks and the Cult of St Cuthbert', in D.W. Rollason, G. Bonner, C. Stancliffe, (eds.) *St Cuthbert*; L.G.D. Baker, 'The Desert in the North', NH, v, (1970), p. 3 refers to the literary vitality of Worcester and Evesham where the study of Bede, amongst others, was not mere '...arid antiquarianism'.

152. See Baker, 'The Desert in the North', p. 1 quoting Dom Hugh Farmer, 'William of Malmesbury's Life and Works', in JEH, XIII, (1963) p. 54.

153. Knowles, MO, p. 159.

154. The name *Muncaceastre* obviously suggests the site of an early Anglian monastery. The site has not been positively identified but a note in the *Historia Regum* equated it with Newcastle-upon-Tyne. [HR, II, p.201]

155. HDE, I, p. 109.

156. It is possible that Symeon deliberately exaggerated Aldwin's asceticism in order to present the first prior of the Benedictine Convent at Durham as a worthy leader of St Cuthbert's Community. Aldwin's way of life was also a stark contrast to the worldly lives of the members of the *Congregatio*. HDE, I, p. 108; '...habitu ac actione monachus, vocabulo Aldwinus, habitabat, qui voluntariam paupertatem et mundi contemptum cunctis seculi honoribus ac divitiis praetulerat...[p. 110]...Erat namque mundi contemptor egregius, habitu et mente humilimus, patiens in adversis, modestus in prosperis, ingenio acutus, consilio providus, sermone gravis et actione, humilibus socius, contra contumaces iustitiae zelo fervidus, semper coelestia desiderans, et secum quoscumque poterat illuc provocans.

157. HDE, I, p. 106. *Hic quoque, si diuturniora huius vitae tempora extitissent, monachus fieri, et monachorum habitationem ad sacrum corpus beati Cuthberti stabilire decreverat. Unde positus fundamentis monachorum habitacula ubi nunc habentur Dunhelmi construere coepit.*

158. HDE, I, p. 106. *Qui cum clericos ibidem inveniret, clericorum morem in diurnis et nocturnis officiis eos servare docuit.* Durham Cathedral Ms. B.III.11, which is a collection of Gregory the Great's Homilies and Gospels, contains, at ff. 136-59, an incomplete eleventh-century secular antiphoner, which may be part of the rite which Walcher tried to introduce. This is made more likely if it did originate, as Mynors believed in the Church of Liège. [See Dom Anselm Hughes, *The Music of Aldwin's House at Jarrow and the Early Twelfth Century Music of Durham*

Priory, (Jarrow Lecture, 1972, p. 4; see R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Mss.*, no. 42, p. 39.

159. For a discussion of these early buildings and the possibility that the original Norman plans were modified after Walcher's death, see M.G. Snape, 'Documentary Evidence for the Building of Durham Cathedral and its Monastic Buildings', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, [British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for 1977] eds. N. Coldstream and P. Draper. pp. 20-24; H. Denis Briggs, E. Cambridge, Richard N. Bailey, 'A New Approach to Church Archaeology: Dowsing, Excavation and Documentary Work at Woodhorn, Ponteland and the Pre-Norman Cathedral at Durham', *AA*, 5th ser., XI, (1983) esp. pp. 91-97.

160. See D. Hall, 'The Community of St Cuthbert', pp. 116-117. The Church and estate of Waltham was a gift of William I, [HDE, I, pp. 113-41], and had belonged to Harold Godwinson.

161. HDE, I, p. 109. *Quapropter venerandus pontifex Walcherus ad illos mittens, rogavit ut ad se venirent, et sub iure potius ecclesiae quam sub potestate secularium manendi locum acciperent.* Note that the church has *ius* in the matter but the earl has the *potestas*.

162. Burning of St Paul's Jarrow, HR, II, sa. 1069, p.189.

163. The rebuilding of abandoned churches is a recurrent phenomenon in medieval religious literature. Comparisons may be made with the restoration of Christian worship at other deserted sites. For example the work undertaken by St Francis at St Damian's and St Mary, Portiuncula near Assisi, as described in caps. viii and ix of the *Vita Prima* of Thomas of Celano. [St Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St Francis ed. Marion A. Habig, (revised by J. Moorman) SPCK, 1972 pp. 243-4, 246] The description of the *renovatio ecclesiae* may be a literary metaphor for the reintroduction of *Christianitas* per se. I owe this point to a verbal communication from Dr M.G. Dickson of the University of Edinburgh.

164. Offler, DEC, no. 2(a) p. 3; HDE, I, p. 110 [Walcher]...*dedit eis villam Gyrvum cum suis appenditiis, scilicet Preostun, Munecatun, Heathewurthe, Heabyrn, Wivestou, Heortedun, ut et opera perficere, et sine indigentia ipsi possent vivere.*

165. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, pp. 5-6, 12, 14-15, 173, 344. For Malcolm III's persecution of Aldwin, see HDE, I, pp. 110-111.

166. HDE, I, p. 112. '*...ad ultimum cum clero et omni populo coram sacratissimo sancti Cuthberti corpore sese illos excommunicatum minatur, nisi ad se sub sancto Cuthberto mansuri reverterentur.*

167. Offler, DEC, 2(b), pp. 3-4. HDE, I, p. 112. *Quos episcopus familiari caritate amplectans, saepius ad colloquium suum evocavit; et interdum suis adhibens consiliis, libentissime illorum dictis dignatus est obedire.*

168. New religious corporations threatened the supply of benefactions available to the Church of St Cuthbert. Earl Waltheof may already have donated the church of Tynemouth to the monks of Jarrow, and Walcher may have feared that this would establish a pattern, draining resources from Durham. The Church of St Cuthbert's monopoly on piety in the Bishopric of Durham was jealously guarded. Hugh du Puiset's son, Henry, attempted to establish a cell of the Augustinian houses of Guisborough, at Baxterwood, close to Durham. The Convent successfully converted the endowment to its own use, eventually making over the land to its cell at Finchale. [G.V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 110 and note 5].

169. HDE, I, Lib. III, cap. xxii, p. 110.

170. HR, II, sa. 1121, p. 260. See Offler, DEC, pp. 41-45.

171. Unfortunately Morkar's name does not appear among those of the monks of Durham preserved in Symeon's HDE, although there is an unidentified 'M.' at 97 on the list. [HDE, I, p. 5]

172. HDE, I, pp. 4-6. The list is discussed by B. Meehan in 'Outsiders, Insiders and Property at Durham around 1100', SCH, 12, at pp. 57-8. There seem to have been 73 names written in a hand contemporary with the manuscript, with the rest added in later scripts.

173. The number survives in the Cotton Ms. of Symeon's HDE, but was erased in the Cosins Ms.; SMO, I, p. 122, note 1 and Meehan, 'Outsiders', p. 57.

174. The first 23 names are; Aldwin, Elfwy, Willelmus, Leofwin, Wulmar, Turgot, Edwin, Turkill, Columbanus, Elfwin, Godwin, Elmar, Helias, Swartebrand, Gamel, Godwin, Wiking, Godwin, Egelric, Seulfus, Gregorius, Edmund, Rotbert. See Appendix A.

175. HDE, I, p. 122 *Anno ab incarnatione Domini MLXXXIII, a transitu vero patris Cuthberti CCCXCVII, ex quo autem ab Aldhuno episcopo incorruptum eiusdem patris corpus in Dunhelmum est perlatum LXXXVIII, qui est annus regni Willelmi XVIII, ex quo autem Aldwinus cum duobus sociis in provinciam Northanhymbrorum venerat X, episcopatus vero Willelmi tertio...*

176. HDE, I, pp. 109-110, *Quorum pauci de ipsa Northanhymbrorum provincia. plures vero de australibus Anglorum partibus fuerant...';* HDE, I, pp. 112-113, *Nam etiam de remotis Anglorum partibus illuc aliqui advenientes, monachicam cum eis vitam agere, et uno corde ac una anima Christo didicerunt servire.*

177. See above, pp. 156 ff and Appendix. A.

178. HDE, I, p. 58. *Nec tamen corpori patris eiusdem Cuthberti pontificis simul et monachi, monachorum unquam usque ad praedicti Walcheri tempora sedulitas defuit vel obsequium.*

179. Offler, DEC, no. 28, pp. 119-21 at p. 119 *'...quam idem ABillavus presbiter antiquo patrimonii iure de me et meis predecessoribus tenebat*

et monachus sancti Cuthberti deveniens hereditario testamento sancto Cuthberto et monachis eius filius suis presentibus et concedentibus coram legitimis testibus concessit et dedit. Offler, DEC, p. 121. 'It is possible to see in Eilaf's holding at Cocken a vestige of the pre-Conquest, ecclesiastical, social and territorial order which St Calais' reforms had failed to dislodge.'

180. See Appendix A. Of the first 23 names on Symeon's list only four, [Willelmus (3), Helias (13), Gregorius (21) and Rotbertus (23)] are not of Old English or Old Norse derivation

181. Symeon has been largely successful in persuading his readers that a virtually complete change of personnel took place. See, for example, A.J. Piper, 'The First Generations', p.437, '...the change in the cathedral's personnel was more nearly complete than on any other occasion in its history, and at a stroke the first monks of Durham became responsible for the major and long established cult associated with the relics of St Cuthbert.'

182. HDE, I, Lib. IV, cap. viii, pp. 127-9.

183. M.G. Snape, 'Documentary Evidence', p. 21.

184. See H. Denis Briggs, E. Cambridge, Richard N. Bailey, 'A New Approach', pp. 91-97.

185. Monuments marking the situation of earlier churches lay alongside the cathedrals of Winchester and Wells in the medieval period. See Briggs, Cambridge, and Bailey, 'A New Approach', p. 94 and notes 71-73.

Chapter 5.

...multas controversias et graves querelas, inter eosdem Episcopos et Priorem et Conventum Dunelmensem, frequenter exortas..., The Relations between the Bishop and the Convent of Durham during the period, 1083-1153.

During the episcopates of Hugh du Puiset (1154-95), Philip of Poitou (1197-1208), and Richard de Marisco (1217-1226), relations between the Bishops of Durham and the Benedictine Convent were disrupted by a number of serious disputes.[1] The settlement made in 1229, known as *Le Convent* [2] was an attempt to resolve the problems between the two ecclesiastical bodies and thereby establish a *modus vivendi* for them within the bishopric. The men who drafted *Le Convent* addressed two main areas of contention concerning, respectively, the status and privileges of the Prior and Convent *vis-a-vis* the Bishop, and the rights to certain disputed properties belonging to the Patrimony of St Cuthbert.[3] Although far from being a comprehensive 'code of relations' [4], the agreement did resolve the major problems which had developed between the Bishop and the Convent during the course of the twelfth century.

The roots of the controversy may be traced to the early Anglo-Norman period and to the constitution of the Church of St Cuthbert established by Bishop William of St Calais in 1083.[5] The arrangements made by Bishop William and the policies pursued by his successors established the parameters for the relationship between Bishop and Convent during the second half of the twelfth century and the early thirteenth. Although the situation was to deteriorate severely from 1162 when Hugh du Puiset removed Prior Thomas from office [6], disputes had already arisen during the episcopates of Rannulf Flambard (1099-1128), Geoffrey Rufus (1133-41), and William of Ste Barbe (1143-52).[7] Some historians [8], probably influenced by the knowledge that such disputes became commonplace in the twelfth century, have judged that the relationship between the Bishop and his monastic cathedral chapter was under strain *ab origine*, and that the

antagonism characteristic of later episcopates pervaded that of William of St Calais. This view anticipates later developments and the evidence from Bishop William's episcopate suggests that his relations with the monks were cordial and they did not begin to deteriorate until the second decade of the twelfth century, well into the pontificate of Rannulf Flambard.

The constitution of the Church of St Cuthbert established by William of St Calais was heavily influenced by the arrangements made by Archbishop Lanfranc at Canterbury.[9] Especially important were the *Consuetudines* which Lanfranc had drawn up for the guidance of his monks.[10] To Benedictines such as the Archbishop and William of St Calais, the advantages of establishing a monastic chapter to serve the cathedral church were clear.[11] As both bishop and abbot of the cathedral the diocesan's authority was enhanced within the see. In other bishoprics [12] during the Anglo-Norman period there were a number of serious disputes centred on the desire of the great monastic corporations for freedom from episcopal control. The scheme envisaged by Lanfranc at Canterbury was that of the archbishop acting as the abbot of his cathedral chapter in order to enforce monastic discipline and so avoid such unseemly and costly contests.[13]

The main source for the early history of the Convent of Durham was, as has been seen, Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and the two continuations of it which chronicle events up until the election of Hugh du Puiset in 1153.[14] The tract *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi Episcopi* deals with the trial of William of St Calais in the *curia regis* for his part in the rebellion against Rufus in 1088.[15] Although principally concerned with the Bishop's defence at his trial, the tract does provide some details concerning his tenure of the see. The first charters recording episcopal *acta* date from the end of the eleventh century, although all of those which

survive and are associated with Bishop William of St Calais are forgeries produced during the episcopate of Hugh du Puiset.[16] Finally, an invaluable but often neglected source is the compilation of the *post mortem* miracles of St Cuthbert produced at Durham at the beginning of the twelfth century. The *miracula* take place in the context of the mundane world of the bishopric and, as a consequence, the accounts are rich in incidental detail.[17]

Aldwin and the monks of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were given custody of the body of St Cuthbert on Whitsunday, 28 May 1083.[18] Although it has been argued that Symeon's assertion that the members of the pre-monastic *Congregatio* refused to join the Benedictine Convent is suspect [19], there is no reason to think that his account of Bishop William's arrangements was not a fair description of the events of that year.[20] Three days after the monks were installed, Bishop William convoked a meeting of the cathedral chapter at which he allotted the monastic offices and made provision for the monks' living necessities.[21] Symeon names only two of the appointments which the bishop made. A certain Leofwin became sacristan of the cathedral and was entrusted with Cuthbert's relics.[22] Aldwin was appointed Prior of the Convent and assumed responsibility for *...intus et foris totius monasterii curam et dispensationem...*[23]. It is probable that Turgot became subprior, given his close relationship with Aldwin at Jarrow and his succession to the priorate in 1087.[24]

According to Symeon, Bishop William then proceeded to make a division of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, severing the landed property of the monks from his own, and freeing them from all customs, in order to provide for their food and clothes.[25] With the exception of the estate of Billingham which William I confirmed *...ad victum specialiter eorum qui in ipsa*

ecclesia Deo et sancto confessori ministrant... [26], the respective holdings of the Bishop and Convent are not systematically listed in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*. The separation of the episcopal and conventual estates was justified by Symeon as being the restoration of an ancient usage of the church according to which those who served Cuthbert's shrine were to have their own land distinct from that of the Bishop.[27] Although it became usual for the bishop and convent in dioceses with monastic cathedral chapters to each have a separate landed endowment [28], it is doubtful whether Symeon's assertion that such was the case in the Church of St Cuthbert before 1083 can be sustained.

During the earliest period of the Church of St Cuthbert's history, the Community on Lindisfarne lived as a monastic corporation with the Bishop and monks sharing the collection of estates which came to be known as the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. [29] There is no evidence that either the Bishop or the Convent controlled lands independently of the other. The sources for the Anglo-Saxon period record the growth of the Patrimony [30], but nowhere suggest that donations were made to the Bishops or the *Congregatio* alone. Estates were given to 'God and St Cuthbert'. Similarly, whenever land was granted or leased from the Patrimony to individuals, these transactions were made by the Bishop and *Congregatio* acting in unison. Occasionally mention is made of certain Bishops disposing of land as if it was their own. For example, Aldhun gave a number of estates as a dowry to his unfortunate daughter, Ecgfrida, at the beginning of the eleventh century [31]. There is every possibility that these estates were part of Aldhun's private landholdings which he brought to the Church of St Cuthbert on his accession as Bishop.[32] It should be noted, however, that on the

dissolution of Ecgfrida's marriage the estates were to return to the Church of St Cuthbert in general, and not to the Bishop alone.[33]

Another piece of evidence seems to point to Bishop and *Congregatio* holding jointly. It is recorded that certain properties were purchased *de pecunia sancti Cuthberti* by Bishop Cutheard.[34] This suggests that there was a common fund from which the Church could draw rather than an episcopal chest alone. Finally, with the establishment of the Convent came a change in the terminology which was used to record pious donations to the Church of Durham. This is illustrated in the *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* reconstructed by H.H.E. Craster.[35] Gifts made to the Church of Durham before Bishop William's episcopate were cited as having been given to 'God, St Mary and St Cuthbert'.[36] However, later grants recorded in passages added to the main body of the chronicle, were made to either the Bishop, (Walcher or William of St Calais), or to '*...monachis in ecclesia sancti Cuthberti Deo imperpetuum servituris...*'. [37] The author of these later passages made a distinction, therefore, between estates given to the episcopal endowment, and those assigned specifically to the monks. Symeon similarly modified the record of gifts to the Church of St Cuthbert. For example, in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, Cnut granted the manor of Staindrop '*...to the saint and to those who attend upon him...*' [38], whereas the same donation is recorded in the earlier *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* as being made simply to 'St Cuthbert' without further elaboration.[39] The monks certainly believed that Staindrop formed part of the monastic endowment after 1083, as it was granted by Prior Algar and the Convent to Dolfin, son of Uhtred in 1131.[40] It would seem, therefore, that when he recorded Cnut's original donation in his chronicle, Symeon was

seeking to establish the monks' claims to this estate in opposition to any which the Bishop might advance.[41]

The division of the estates between Bishop and Convent in 1083 was an innovation in the organisation of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. It is doubtful, however, that, at least during William of St Calais' pontificate, this division was as precise as Symeon or his fellow monks would have liked it to have been. This lack of precision only became a source of dispute when Bishop William's arrangements began to break down.

Two factors are important in the consideration of the origins and development of tensions between the Bishop and the Convent in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Durham. First is the role in the management of the Convent which William of St Calais envisaged for himself. Secondly, there is the status which the Prior and Convent acquired during Bishop William's pontificate, and, perhaps more significantly, during the Bishop's exile and the three-year vacancy between his death and the appointment of Rannulf Flambard in 1099.

William of St Calais saw himself as more than just the titular abbot of his monastic cathedral chapter. This is made clear by his actions in 1083. The *Sancti Benedicti regula monachorum* stipulated that the right to make all appointments within the monastery was the sole preserve of the abbot.[42] Not surprisingly this feature was re-emphasised by Lanfranc [43], and was of especial appeal to any bishop who instituted a monastic cathedral chapter. Advice might be offered by the Convent and indeed accepted by the abbot, but the appointment of obedientiaries was an executive decision. As has been seen, Bishop William called together the Convent, as was his right as abbot, and appointed a Prior and Sacristan. There is no suggestion that the monks should have held any sort of election

for these posts.[44] Later, they claimed the right to elect their own prior [45], but no such demand has a place in Symeon's *Historia*. The Convent accepted the abbot's decisions and, indeed, during William of St Calais' pontificate there was no reason why they should not. As a fellow monk and especially as their founder and benefactor, Bishop William was not perceived as a threat to conventual privileges.[46] Anything which was done by the Bishop was done with abbatial authority, and, as the essence of the Benedictine Rule was obedience to the abbot's will,[47] the monks could only accept his arrangements. The appointments of Aldwin and his successor Turgot were autocratic decisions accepted without murmur by the brethren, although Symeon does tentatively suggest that both decisions were made after consultation with the monks.[48]

William of St Calais considered himself to be an active member of the Convent of Durham and he is portrayed as the very paradigm of a Benedictine *abba*. [49] There is, perhaps, more than the merely conventional in Symeon's description of Bishop William's concern for the welfare of his monks,

Monachos ipsos ut pater dulcissimus filios carissimos amplectebatur, protegebat, fovebat, ac summa discretione regebat. Sive enim arguebat, sive blandiebatur, amabilis omnibus illis erat, quia illius neque districtio rigida, neque mansuetudo soluta, ita ex altera alterum temperabat, ut severitas illius iocunda, et iocunditas esset severa. Nimium eos diligens, nimium ab eis diligebatur.[50]

On his return from exile in 1091, Bishop William brought numerous gifts for the Convent, including precious ornaments for the altar, as well as the manuscripts which came to form the nucleus of the Conventual library.[51] In every respect, then, William of St Calais appears as a conscientious abbot. During his frequent absences the Bishop despatched letters to the

monks, 'his brethren in Christ, his sons' [52], encouraging them to pray for him and ensure that they did not abandon their monastic vocations. The letters were to be read aloud once a week in chapter and they betray a concern that the monks should not lapse from their Benedictine profession as earlier servants of St Cuthbert had done.[53] This sentiment is entirely in keeping with a founder's desire to see his creation survive its crucial first years. These letters also hint at the conditions in which the status and privileges of the Prior and Convent were allowed to develop during Bishop William's episcopate. The frequent absences which necessitated the sending of such letters imply a Convent left to its own devices under a Prior with a greater degree of freedom than his fellow priors in monasteries with resident abbots.

Until at least 1088, William of St Calais was an influential royal servant entrusted by the king with commissions of great importance. Involvement in projects such as the Domesday Survey [54], necessitated prolonged absences from Durham. If the Bishop's exile in Normandy from 1088 until 1091 [55] is also taken into account, then it seems unlikely that he was resident in Durham for any great length of time between his appointment in 1081 and his return from Normandy a decade later. After his reinstatement at Durham in September 1091, William of St Calais began a largely successful campaign to retrieve his former position of influence at the king's court. He made at least two further trips to Normandy in February 1092 and 1093, possibly acting as a mediator between Robert Curthose and William Rufus.[56] His name reappears among the witnesses to royal *acta* and, by 1093 he was in a position to request and receive important concessions from the king.[57] It was even suggested that his ambition stretched as far as the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury,

although this is probably mere conjecture on Eadmer's part regarding the motivation of the man who acted for the crown against his beloved Anselm at the Council of Rockingham in 1095.[58] In these circumstances it was important for Bishop William to be in attendance on the king and so his presence at Durham for long periods after 1091 seems as unlikely as it was before 1088.

Unfortunately there is little direct evidence as to the arrangements which Bishop William made for the administration of the see during his absences, but it may be inferred from the sources that he relied heavily upon the Prior. Trailing in the wake of the Norman Conquest came a substantial increase in the importance of the archdeacon in England, the chief episcopal officer who was to gain such notoriety in medieval sources.[59] The office of archdeacon, although not unknown in the Anglo-Saxon Church, developed in the post-Conquest period into that of the episcopal deputy in the diocese, entrusted with the welfare of the see *episcopo absente*. [60] The sources for late eleventh and early twelfth-century Durham mention several archdeacons [61], and one of the earliest references is contained in a confraternity agreement drawn up between William of St Calais and Abbot Vitalis of Westminster. As Abbot Vitalis died in 1085, the *Turstinus dunelmensis archidiaconus* mentioned in the terms of the agreement may have been active in the first years of the Convent's existence.[62] It is unlikely, though not impossible, that Turstin was a survivor from Walcher's *familia*. The accounts of the events at Gateshead specifically mention the death of an archdeacon named Leobwin with the Bishop in 1080.[63] In the light of this, it is probable that Turstin accompanied William of St Calais to the see in 1081. There are no

further notices of Turstin [64] and it is, therefore, uncertain as to how long he occupied his office, or whether he acted *in loco episcopi* during Bishop William's early absences from the see.

After his return from exile in Normandy, William of St Calais began the building of the Romanesque cathedral at Durham. Symeon records that on 29 July 1093, when the digging of the foundations had begun, the Bishop appointed Prior Turgot archdeacon of the Church of St Cuthbert. In addition he decreed that all those who should succeed Turgot as Prior should hold the archidiaconate *ex officio*. [65] In many respects the appointment of the prior of the monastic cathedral chapter as archdeacon of the see was the logical corollary of having a diocesan who was the abbot of his cathedral chapter; the deputy of the abbot in the Convent became the bishop's deputy in the diocese.

It is possible to interpret this appointment in a number of ways. On his return to Durham, Bishop William may have discovered that disputes had arisen between the archdeacon and the Convent. As soon as he was able, the Bishop removed the possibility of further conflict by amalgamating the two offices in the person of the Prior. There are, however, no notices in the sources of such disagreements taking place. Events which occurred during Bishop William's exile are recorded by Symeon and it is difficult to believe that such a dispute, directly concerning the privileges of the Convent would have been ignored by him or the other sources of the period. Alternatively William of St Calais may have realised that there was the potential for a clash of interests between the Prior and the Archdeacon and made the appointment of Turgot in order to avoid the development of such a situation. This thesis presupposes that by 1088 the archdeacon at Durham had assumed the influence in the diocese which became characteristic of the

office elsewhere in the twelfth century, and that the Bishop had the prescience to anticipate the development of a dispute of this kind. Whilst this is not impossible, it seems more probable that the Bishop's action in 1093 was not anticipatory but was, rather, the response to a situation which had already arisen.

The history of the relationship between the Bishop and Convent of Durham has usually been described in terms of a conflict always about to happen.[66] It is this view which would characterise William of St Calais' pontificate as one of antagonism rather than of co-operation. Claims to privileges, as will be seen in the case of the Convent of Durham, usually arise only after the enjoyment of those privileges has been removed or threatened. This precondition does not seem to have existed at Durham in the episcopate of William of St Calais. This said, the most plausible explanation for the institution of a monastic archdeacon in the person of the Prior, is that Turstin died before 1088, or early in the period of the Bishop's exile, and that Turgot had assumed responsibility for the diocese during William of St Calais' absence. The investiture of the Prior with the office of archdeacon was, therefore, but a formal acknowledgement of the position which he already occupied within the diocese. There are a number of pieces of evidence which would seem to support this reconstruction of the situation.

To begin with, Prior Turgot's career would seem to suggest that he would not pass up the chance to exercise authority in the diocese of Durham. He had succeeded Aldwin as Prior in April 1087 having been his constant companion since arriving in the North-East of England in the mid 1070s.[67] The period between the appearance of the Normans in his native Lincolnshire and his adoption of the monastic vocation at Jarrow had been

particularly eventful. Turgot was of noble birth and was taken by William I as one of the hostages who were to guarantee the good behaviour of all Lindsey. Ransoming himself from Lincoln castle, Turgot made his way to the court of Olaf of Norway, in a Norwegian cargo vessel sailing from Grimsby. There he became the King's chaplain, although it is by no means clear whether or not Turgot was in priestly orders at this time. According to the *Historia Regum*, he amassed a considerable fortune which turned his head from a life of contemplation. At length Turgot decided to return to England but was shipwrecked on the Northumbrian coast where he lost all his possessions. Destitute, he made his way to Durham where he informed Bishop Walcher of his intention to become a monk. Walcher directed him to Aldwin's settlement at Jarrow where he was eventually admitted to the monastic order.[68]

Turgot was, therefore, used to mixing in exalted circles and holding positions of influence. He became William of St Calais' deputy at Durham and was later formidable enough to counter the ambitions of Rannulf Flambard. The sources tell us that it was with some alacrity and relief, that Flambard expedited Turgot's promotion to the see of St Andrews.[69] Prior Turgot's position as archdeacon was acknowledged by a royal writ dating from the period of the vacancy after Bishop William's death in 1096 [70], and he was certainly exercising some ecclesiastical authority in Jedburgh when he disinterred from the church there the body of a certain Eadulf reputed to have been Bishop Walcher's murderer.[71] However, the chronicles are, for the most part silent on Turgot's years as Prior of Durham. A valuable insight into conditions in the bishopric during Bishop William's absences and the vacancy suggests that Turgot was acting *quasi episcopus*. A compilation of some twenty-one miracle stories concerning St

Cuthbert's posthumous interventions in the fortunes of the *Haliwerfolc* was produced at Durham in the early twelfth century. A considerable number of these concern a certain *praepositus memoratus* who, it is reasonably conjectured, was Prior Turgot.[72] The *miracula* portray the Prior as the chief authority in the bishopric, dispensing justice, both lay and ecclesiastical [73], conducting missions to the King's court on behalf of the Church and people of Durham [74], as well as performing duties consistent with those of the leader of a monastic Community.[75]

A number of the miracles occur on Lindisfarne and the presence of the Prior there is significant [76]. In one of this group of *miracula* a violent storm washed up a large shoal of fish on to the island. Unfortunately the fish were found on land not belonging to the monks and when they asked for a share in the bounty their request was refused. Through the merits of St Cuthbert another storm brought an even larger number of fish on to the island, this time on to monastic land.[77] At the beginning of the twelfth century the Convent of Durham was attempting to re-establish a monastic cell on Lindisfarne. Prior Turgot's presence on the island reinforced the monks' claims there and this miracle story in particular may indicate that the Convent experienced some difficulty in collecting its tithe from the inhabitants.

In each of the miracle stories the Prior is the central figure, not the Bishop. The author of the *miracula* was deliberately seeking to bolster the position of the Convent at a time when its privileges were under threat. In this respect the compilation of the miracle stories would seem to date from the latter half of the pontificate of Rannulf Flambard, when, after the promotion of Turgot to St Andrews, the Bishop began to encroach upon the possessions and privileges of the monks. The phrase *memoratus*

praepositus suggests that Turgot was no longer Prior of Durham and so those miracles which concern him seem to have been compiled after 1109 or possibly after his death in 1115. These miracle stories were important, therefore, not only as a record of the thaumaturgical powers of St Cuthbert but also as a reminder of the position of influence which Turgot had occupied and which was now threatened by Bishop Rannulf.

When speaking of the period of William of St Calais' exile, Symeon reports that,

Ita monachi Dunelmensis, sui antistitis destituti solatio, cum multa se adversa passuros formidarent, nec ab aliquo refovendos sperarent, ita e contrario, Deo per sancti Cuthberti merita se miserante, protegebantur, ut nulla eis adversitas noceret, et ipsum regem erga se satis humanum invenirent. Licet enim in alia monasteria et ecclesias ferocius ageret, ipsis tamen non solum nihil auferebat, sed etiam de suo dabat, et ab iniuriis malignorum sicut pater defendebat. [78]

Usually when monastic chroniclers referred to the protection of their saint it indicates that more mundane methods of defence had failed. Here, however, Prior Turgot's role in defending the rights and privileges of the Convent from the abuses of William Rufus was as important as the supernatural aid rendered by Cuthbert. The King's relatively respectful treatment of the Church of St Cuthbert may have been prompted by a wish to ensure that the North-East of England remained peaceful whilst his plans for the annexation of Carlisle were taking shape. His generosity towards St Cuthbert's Church seems to have been partly the result of the cordial relationship which Symeon claims to have developed between Rufus and Turgot. The Prior attended the King's court on behalf of the Church and people of Durham and appears to have been successful in his mission. Symeon recorded that whenever Turgot visited the *curia regis* he was accorded

courtesies often denied to other dignitaries. The result of these meetings was a royal clarification of the Prior's position within the diocese,

Sed et priori ad se venienti humiliter assurgens, benigne illum suscepit, et ita per omnia sub se quemadmodum sub episcopo curam ecclesiae cum omni libertate agere praecepit.[79]

There was no doubt, at least in Symeon's mind and in that of the author of the *Miracula*, that Prior Turgot exercised broad authority in the diocese of Durham in the absence of the Bishop himself. His appointment as archdeacon in 1093 was, therefore, but the final recognition of a position which the Prior had occupied within the see for five years or more.

Symeon was writing at a time when the consensus between Bishop and Convent was beginning to break down. It might be argued that, in his description of Turgot's authority in Durham, Symeon was guilty of conscious hyperbole in an attempt to underline the Convent's privileges. By pointing out that, during the period before Flambard's appointment, Prior Turgot had acted as bishop in all but name, Symeon hoped to ward off any attempt by Bishop Rannulf to assert his authority. This may be true but it does not militate against the view expressed above, namely that during the episcopate of William of St Calais, the frequent and often prolonged absences of the Bishop allowed the Prior and Convent to grasp considerable privileges within the bishopric. The strength of the monks' position helps to explain another notable feature of Bishop William's pontificate.

Despite William of St Calais' familiarity with the papal and royal chanceries [80], and his knowledge of the value of written records of transactions, there are no authentic papal, royal, archiepiscopal, or episcopal charters relating to the foundation of the Convent of Durham in

1083. Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* certainly implies that Bishop William obtained papal and royal warrants for his reforms but these have not survived.[81] An elaborate and comprehensive series of foundation documents was produced, but these charters have been shown to be forgeries concocted at various stages during the second half of the twelfth century.[82] Therefore, unless there was some unrecorded destruction of the Conventual archive between the end of the pontificate of William of St Calais and the beginning of that of Hugh du Puiset [83], it seems that no documents were produced concerning the establishment and constitution of the Convent of St Cuthbert in the late eleventh century.

At first sight this deficiency of authentic foundation documents for the reformed Church of Durham seems inconsistent with the usual flurry of scribal activity on the occasion of the establishment of a religious house.[84] The monks of Durham appear to have been negligent in failing to secure incontestable title to their lands and privileges. As disputes arose between the Bishop and the Convent, the possession of authoritative charters setting out the monks' privileges and specifying their estates and churches in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, became a necessity. In the increasingly litigious atmosphere of the twelfth century in general, and Hugh du Puiset's pontificate in particular, such documents were essential pieces of supporting evidence in any attempt to secure papal confirmation of the Convent's privileges within the see. For example, the monastery's earliest surviving cartulary carefully preserved copies of each of the papal confirmations which the monks managed to obtain during the twelfth century. For the period before 1153 only two papal confirmations, describing in general terms the privileges of the Convent, were recorded in the *cartuarium vetus*. [85] For the period after Hugh du Puiset's

appointment, however, the monks were careful to acquire as many papal confirmations as they could.[86] This significant expansion in the *papalia* category of the conventual archive, reflects not only the greater accessibility of the papal *curia*, but also the determination of the monks of Durham to make the most use of this powerful tribunal. The papal confirmations which the Convent obtained during the episcopate of Bishop Hugh are also far more detailed than the earlier ones, listing carefully, for example, each church which the monks claimed, together with its dependent chapels and revenues.[87]

There is, therefore, a close relationship between the production of charters of privileges and the circumstances in which they were issued. In general, the later twelfth century saw a veritable explosion in the number of charters issued and preserved, whether by the crown, the Church or by private individuals.[88] Advances in canon and secular law brought the recognition of the value of written evidence of title to land or privilege, although the testimony of *probi homines* remained the most usual form of proof well beyond the end of the twelfth century. It is no coincidence that the refinement of the forger's art accompanied this boom in chancery activity. At Durham the lack of foundation charters was felt acutely and, from around 1162 onwards [89], monastic scribes were at work producing the documents surviving today which purport to have originated in the earliest days of the Convent. Once again the production of a false diploma followed an incident which pointed out the need for it. In 1162 Prior Thomas confronted Hugh du Puiset over certain monastic liberties which the Bishop had ignored. As a result of his defiance Thomas was deposed from the priorate and forced into eremitical retreat on the Farne Islands.[90] It is no surprise to learn that one of the main features of the forgeries

produced after 1162 was a clear statement that no prior should be deposed without good cause. This later developed into an assertion that the prior should hold office for life and should not be deposed for any reason.[91]

If it is the case that claims for privileges are made only after those privileges have been jeopardised, then the absence of foundation charters from the pontificate of William of St Calais is suggestive. The Prior and Convent exercised quasi-autonomous freedom within the bishopric of Durham during the period from the monastery's foundation in 1083 until, and probably beyond, Rannulf Flambard's appointment in 1099. Even when the Bishop was resident in the diocese the interests of William of St Calais and his monks were in accord. There was no perceived threat to the liberties of the Convent and, therefore, no need for muniments defining those liberties. Symeon's description of the events of Bishop William's pontificate and his assertion that the Bishop made a careful separation of the episcopal and conventual estates, owes a great deal to a belated realisation that documents clearly setting out the Convent's lands and privileges would be invaluable in its dealings with Rannulf Flambard. Symeon describes William of St Calais' division of the Patrimony and then goes on to say that,

Episcopus quoque aliquantulum quidem terrae monachis largitus est; veruntamen ut sine indigentia et penuria Christo servirent, sufficientes ad victum illorum et vestituti terras eis una cum rege ipse providerat, et iam iamque daturus erat. Sed ne id ad effectum pervenirent, primo regis ac postea episcopi mors impedimento fuerat.[92]

Symeon gives no other details of this planned endowment by the King and Bishop. Professor Barlow interpreted this passage as being evidence of antagonism between Bishop and Convent. The scheme failed, he argues, not

through the deaths of William of St Calais and the Conqueror, but because the Bishop was opposed to the idea of a separate endowment for the monks. Barlow describes an aggressive Convent profiting from Bishop William's absences and pestering the dying man for written confirmation of its privileges.[93] It was the monks, anticipating future problems, who pressed for a separation from the Bishop. The argument here, however, is that William of St Calais posed no threat to the privileges of the monks as they shared his conception of the Church of St Cuthbert as a monastic cathedral chapter with the bishop as its abbot. Barlow seems to have been projecting the antagonism which undoubtedly existed between Bishop and Convent from the pontificate of Rannulf Flambard onwards, back into the time of William of St Calais. It is hard to believe that the monks' affection for their founder which Symeon describes would have dissipated in so short a time.

In 1123 the monks of Durham, having suffered at the hands of Rannulf Flambard, obtained a confirmation of their lands and liberties from Pope Calixtus II, at a time when an assertive papacy was on the brink of success in its battle with the Empire over investiture.[94] The papal privilege was probably based on the earliest of the Durham forgeries, a copy of which was entered into the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis* [95]. This document provides a resume of the events of the foundation of the Convent of Durham to which it appends a list of properties which, it was claimed, formed the monastic endowment.[96] With the exception of the description of the monastic properties, the entry in the *Liber Vitae* is a verbatim extrapolation of a passage in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* [97]. Symeon's account has been rendered into the first person to simulate the phraseology of a private charter, but otherwise the borrowing is explicit.[98] It is possible that Symeon drew on an original charter now lost, but, if this is

the case, it is difficult to understand why he omitted the list of estates which would have been of such use to his Convent.

The *Ego Willelmus* charter in the *Liber Vitae* may itself represent the original record of the assignment of lands to the monks. The lack of extant pre-Conquest charters for the North-East of England is marked, and it is possible that, at least for the Church of St Cuthbert, the interpolation of memoranda concerning donations of land or other matters relating to the estates of the church, in manuscripts containing liturgical or historical writings, was the usual method of preserving the details of such transactions.[99] These 'charter-chronicles' such as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, the *Chronica Dunelmensis Monasterii* and, to a lesser extent, Symeon's *Historia* itself represented the muniment collections of the Church. These manuscripts were accorded a position of honour on the High Altar of the cathedral, the very place at which the donations which they recorded were made.[100] In this way the *Liber Vitae* memorandum represented what the inmates of the Convent considered to be appropriate title to their estates, entirely in keeping with the historiographical traditions of their Church.[101] As the *Ego Willelmus* charter seems to have been the basis of the subsequent late twelfth-century forgeries, it is necessary to examine its contents in some detail in order to establish the validity of the claims which it makes.

The properties which the Convent claimed can be shown to have had direct links with the Church of St Cuthbert before 1083. In addition, it is possible to trace the nucleus of the conventual estates to grants made to the monks of the refounded communities of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth during the episcopates of Walcher and William of St Calais. In order to encourage Aldwin's settlement within his bishopric, Bishop Walcher granted him the

church and vill of Jarrow.[102] A few years later Walcher added the nearby ruined monastic church of St Peter's Wearmouth, together with the estate of North Wearmouth.[103] The component parts of the estate of Jarrow were carefully listed by Symeon and they seem to represent a land bloc of considerable antiquity.[104] Aldwin and his companions brought with them their claims to these estates when they relocated to Durham in 1083, hence their appearance in the list provided by the charter *Ego Willelmus*.

Symeon also recorded the royal grant of the estate of Billingham *cum suis appendiciis* in the south-east of the modern county of Durham.[105] William I had already restored the estate to the *Congregatio* of St Cuthbert during his stay in Durham in 1072. His confirmation of Billingham to the monks '...for the provision of food for those who ministered in the Church to God and St Cuthbert' was made at the establishment of the Convent in 1083.[106] Symeon was again underlining the legitimacy of the conventual possession of an estate separate from the episcopal lands. This point in itself suggests that the earlier grant in 1072 was made to the Bishop and Community who together composed the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti*, and that after 1083 it was necessary to leave no doubt as to whose was the right of possession.

A royal charter attributable to William Rufus lends credibility to a statement made by Symeon. In describing William of St Calais' treatment of the Church of St Cuthbert, Symeon recorded that,

Nam et quasdam terras de quibus semper inter episcopum Dunhelmensem et comitem Northanhymbrensiū contentio fuerat, ita ecclesiae liberas et quietas reliquit ut deinceps aliquas ex his consuetudines praeter episcopum exigere nemo vel debeat vel possit, quod cartulae ecclesiae ostendunt.[107]

The estates in question seem to have been among those contested between the earldom and the bishopric since the beginning of the eleventh century. The controversy stemmed from Bishop Aldhun's grant of a group of properties as a dowry for his daughter Ecgfrida on her marriage to earl Uhtred of Northumbria.[108] Earl Siward laid claim to the estates of Aycliffe and Hesleden amongst others through his marriage to Elflaeda, granddaughter of Uhtred and Ecgfrida. Later Robert de Mowbray quitclaimed to Bishop William ...*dimidium latronem, et dimidium fracturae pacis, et quicquid in subscriptas terras habebat, vel calumpniabatur...*, on receipt of *c. libras denariorum*. [109] It was this agreement which the writ of William Rufus confirmed. The vills specified by Earl Robert included Aycliffe and its subordinate townships. It has been suggested that Scott, son of Alstan, the donor of the estate of Aycliffe mentioned by the *Ego Willelmus* charter was a tenant of the earldom of Northumberland and the questioning of his right to make such a grant may have sparked off the dispute between earl Robert and the Bishop. The *Liber Vitae* entry says that Bishop William added the vill of Ketton which lies near the Aycliffe estate. Two Northumbrian families seem to have been in possession of Ketton, one half of which William of St Calais acquired from a certain Meldred in exchange for Winlaton, whilst he purchased the other half from Edmund, son of Alstan and therefore probably the brother of the donor of Aycliffe.[110]

The estate of Aycliffe lay close to the wapentake of Sadberge, an area which represented a comital intrusion into the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. The proximity of Aycliffe to this anomalous parcel of land suggests that until Rufus' writ the earls of Northumberland had controlled a significant area of southern County Durham. The settlement between the earl and the Bishop recorded that Robert de Mowbray surrendered his share of the

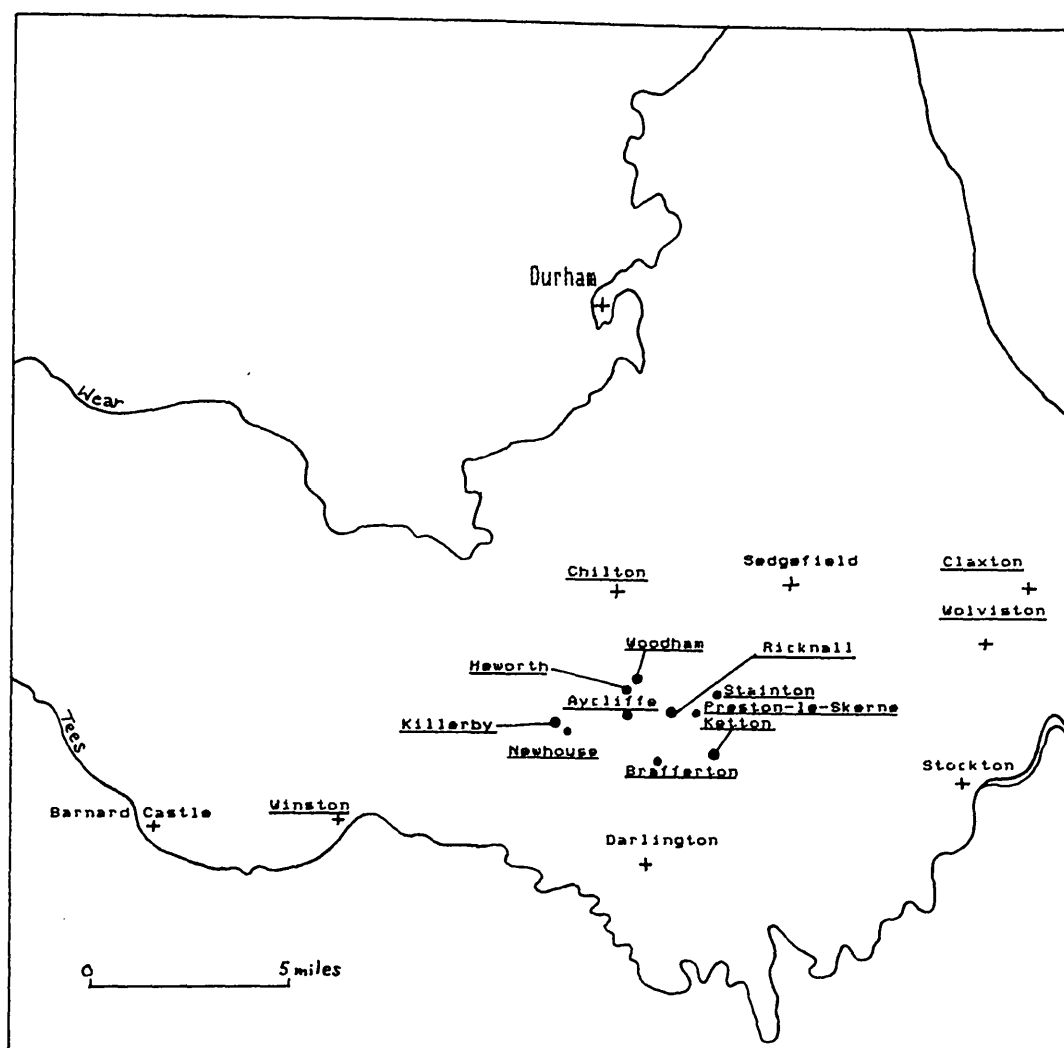


Fig. 5.1. Estates in dispute between Bishop William of St Calais and earl Robert de Mowbray as listed in DC, Durham, 1.1. Reg. 17.

...Clachestona, et in Oluestona, et in Ciltona, et in Staninctona, et in Richenehalle, et in Wodom, et in Acle, et in Hewards, et in Prestetona, et in Bradfortuna, et in Esmidebroc, et in Culuerdebi, et in Cathona, et in Winston, et in Newehusa, et in Westewic...[Claxton, Wolviston, Chilton, Stainton, Ricknall, Woodham, Aycliffe, Heworth, Preston, Brafferton, Esmidebroc (?), Killerby, Ketton, Winston, Newhouse, Westwick (Barnard Castle)]. (printed, FPD, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii).

proceeds of mediatized regalian rights. Both Bishop and earl claimed such franchises in the North-East of England and the writ describes the logical compromise which had been arrived at in an area where there was disputed ownership, that is, equal shares in the profits of those regalian rights. Earl Robert's surrender of his share most probably took place after Bishop William's restoration to the see of St Cuthbert in 1091. Robert de Mowbray had probably taken advantage of the Bishop's absence to extend his control over the area and had threatened to usurp completely William of St Calais' franchise, in effect expanding the wapentake of Sadberge.[111]

The Convent also set out a claim for lands closer to Durham itself, at Rainton and Pitlington to the north-east of the city, Merrington to the south and Shincliffe and Elvet which were, in effect, monastic suburbs of the borough. The *Liber Vitae* provides incidental evidence of a thriving mercantile community in Elvet, as a claim was advanced to forty merchants' dwellings, quit of all service to the Bishop except for contributions to the city's defences.[112]

On the north bank of the Tyne, the monks claimed the villis of Willington and Wallsend which, lying as close as they do to Jarrow were probably part of the ancient monastic estates. Similarly, Dalton had been associated with Wearmouth from the seventh century.[113] In addition it is no surprise to discover that Lindisfarne and Norham, both ancient resting places of St Cuthbert's relics were listed by the *Ego Willelmus* charter as part of the monastic endowment.

Thus far the lands claimed by the Convent all had connections with the most ancient of the North-East of England's monastic houses. The claim to Norham displayed a knowledge of the ninth-century translation of the body of St Cuthbert. This may indicate that what the *Liber Vitae* memorandum

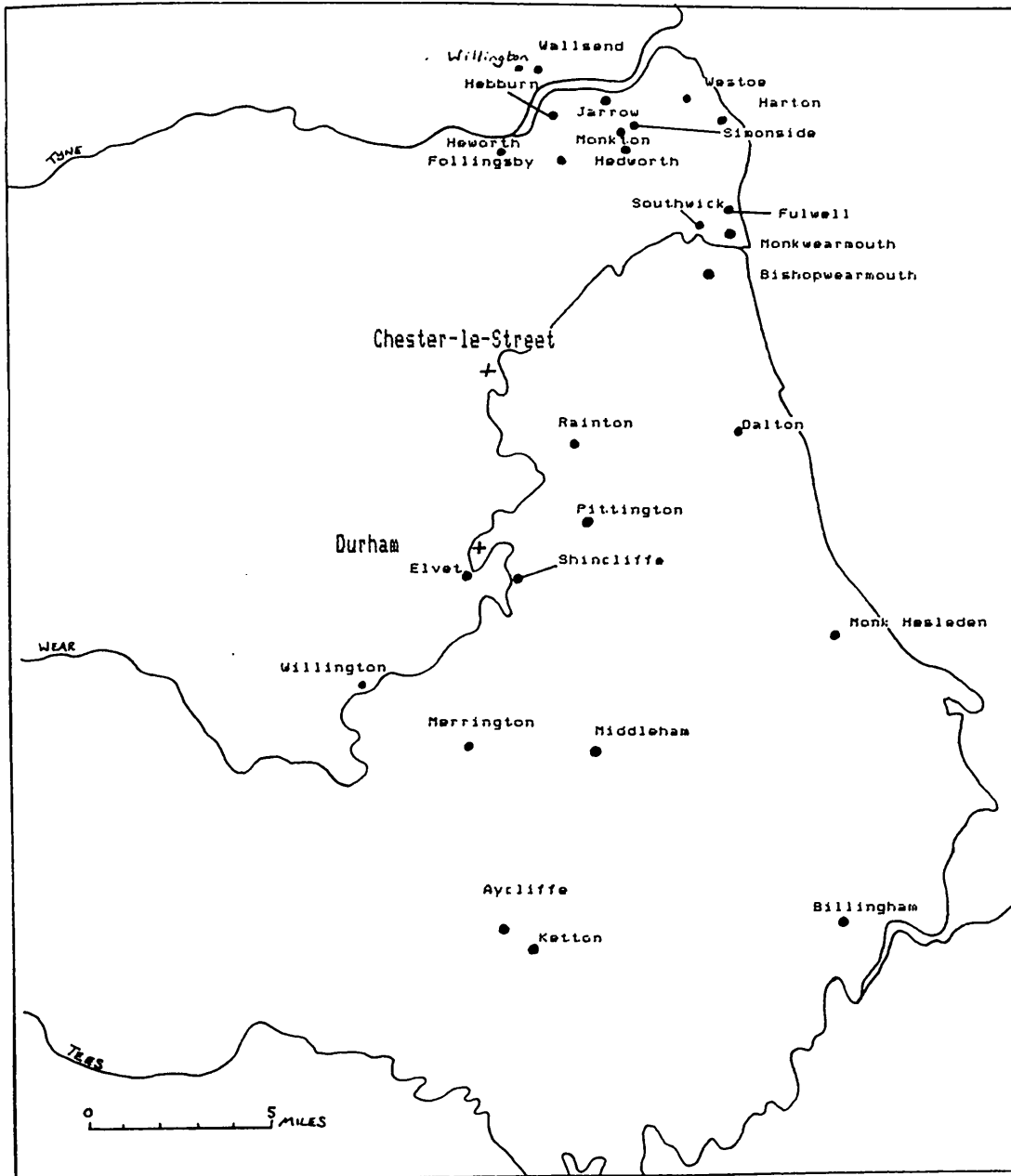
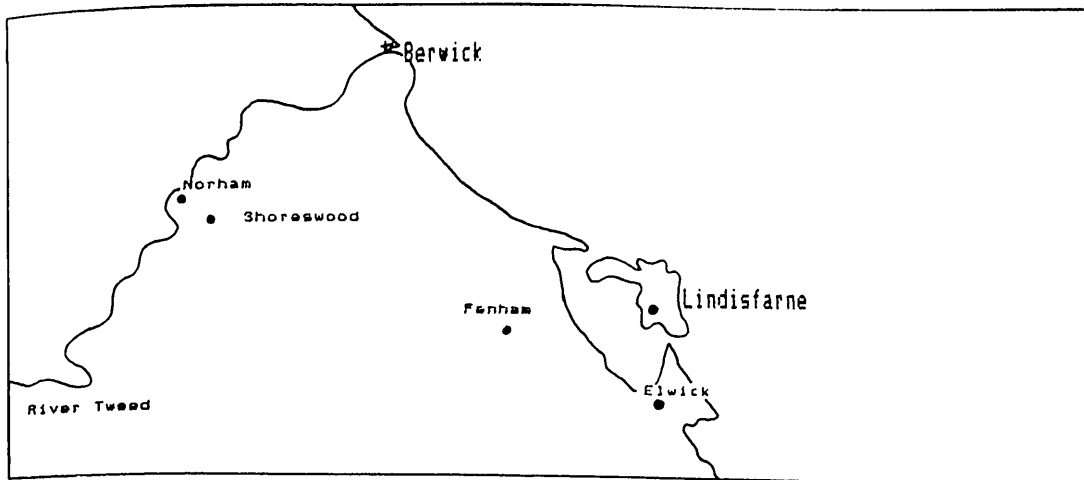


Fig. 5.2. Estates claimed by the Convent of Durham in the forged Charter *Ego Willelmus*, [LVD, ff. 49-50].

represents is a list of possessions of the Church of St Cuthbert culled from the historical sources produced by the pre-monastic *Congregatio*. The monks of Durham drew up a catalogue of those estates which had formed the nucleus of the Patrimony and, armed with this, they petitioned the Bishop for the allocation of these to the Convent. This in turn suggests that those who put forward the claim were very familiar with the pre-Conquest historiography of Durham. Once again, then, there is evidence of a high degree of continuity in the transmission of the traditions of St Cuthbert's Church and the most likely conduits of such a transmission were those members of the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* who had remained at Durham to join the Benedictine Convent.

Finally, the *Liber Vitae* copy of the *Ego Willelmus* charter recorded lands beyond the boundaries of the modern counties of Durham and Northumberland. Estates in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, as well as the church of the Holy Trinity in the city of York were cited as possessions of the monks.[114] Whereas the Lincolnshire lands appear in Domesday Book as part of the Bishop's estates in that county, the 1086 survey of Nottinghamshire makes no mention of a Durham interest.[115] In this case it seems as though the author of the *Liber Vitae* entry was in error in ascribing the grant of the Nottingham estates to William I. It is more likely that these lands formed part of the surprising generosity of William Rufus noted by Symeon.[116]

A notable omission from the purported charter is any mention of the Convent's claim to the churches on the Durham estates in Yorkshire. By the time of Domesday, the Bishop of Durham had been granted Howdenshire and Weltonshire. The donation was made by William I at some stage between William of St Calais' appointment and 1086.[117] On the Bishop's return

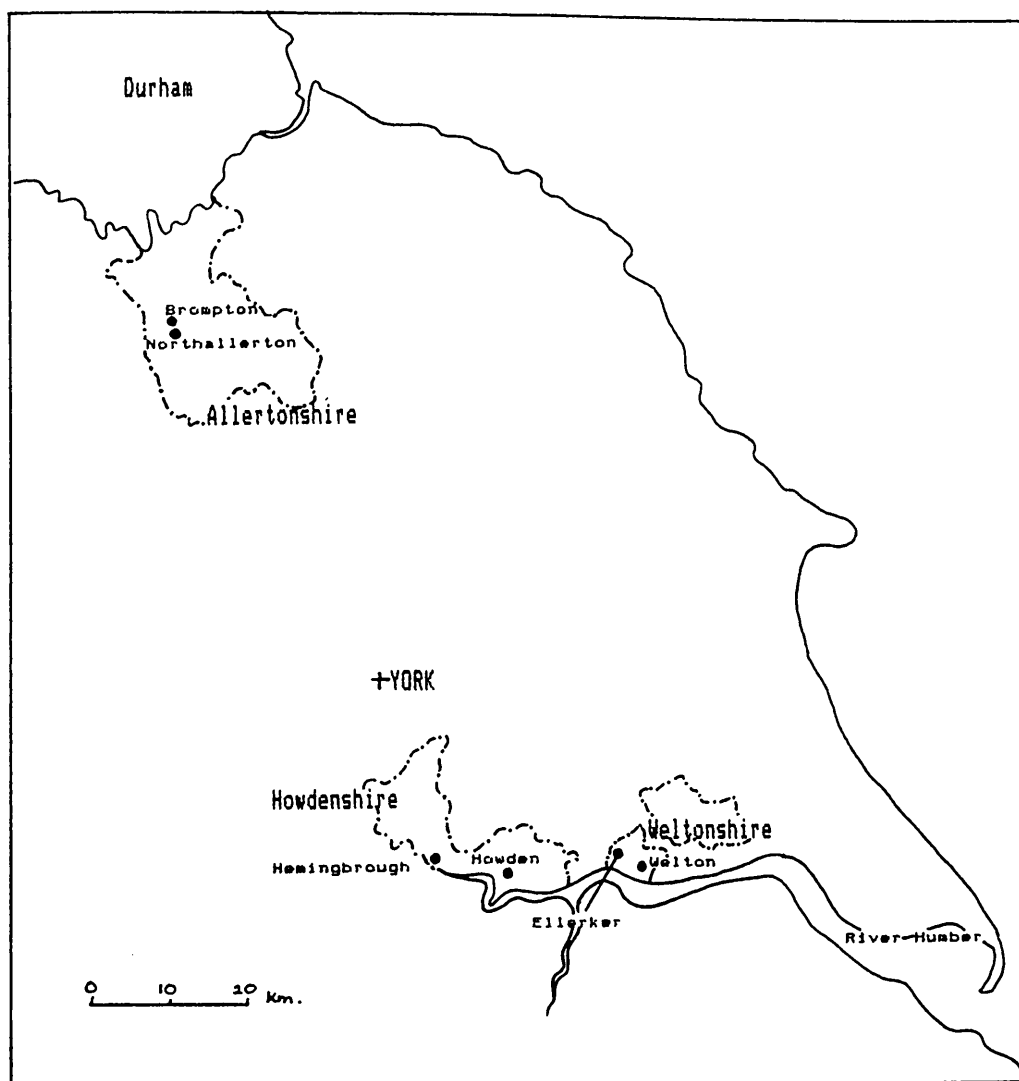
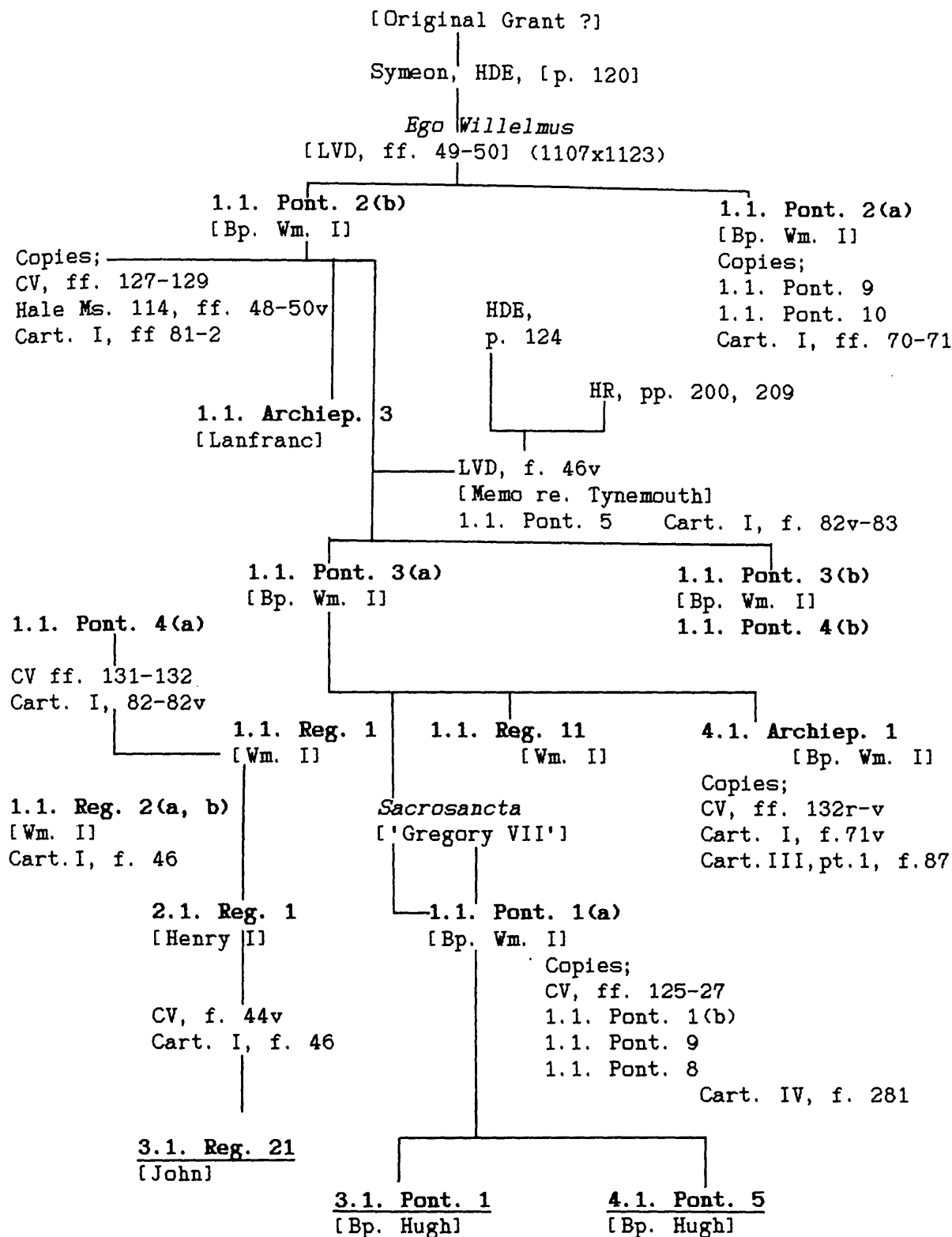


Fig. 5. 3. The Estates of the Church of St Cuthbert in Yorkshire; Allertonshire, Howdenshire and Weltonshire.

from exile, William Rufus seems to have added Northallertonshire. Although, in addition, William I had granted the monks Hemingbrough, also in Yorkshire, there is no mention of this in the forgery.[118] In the late twelfth century the monks put forward claims to the churches of these manors and asserted that Bishop William of St Calais had made the gift.[119] It seems more likely, however, that the omission of these churches from the earliest forgery suggests that they were not granted to the monks until after it was manufactured. A genuine charter of Bishop Rannulf Flambard dating from *circa* 1116 to 1128, recorded the grant of the tithes of his demesnes in the shires of Northallerton, Welton and Howden to the monks of Durham. Without the tithes the Bishop would have little interest in retaining the churches to which they belonged and so it would seem that this represents the first acquisition of these churches by the monks.

The influence of the *Ego Willelmus* forgery may be detected in the drafting of the corpus of counterfeit charters which was compiled by the Convent during the pontificate of Hugh du Puiset. It is possible to construct a pedigree of the Durham forgeries and, as can be seen in the diagram [120], the *Liber Vitae* memorandum was the progenitor of an extended kin group. This family of spurious documents has been examined in detail by several historians and G.V. Scammell's study has gained the authority of wide acceptance.[121] Scammell brought together the charters examined by the Rev William Greenwell in 1872 and added other spurious diplomata including the purported papal bull *Sacrosancta*, of Gregory VII. He concluded that the foundation charters of the Convent of Durham were produced in several batches from c.1162 to c.1200, each group of documents

Fig. 5.4. The Twelfth-Century Forged Foundation Charters of Durham.



Note.

References in Bold type denote purported or genuine (underlined) charters among the muniments of the Dean & Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

modifying earlier drafts in order to address new problems as they arose. The long term success enjoyed by the monastic forgeries may be measured by the fact that, in 1204, King John issued a comprehensive confirmation of the rights and liberties of the Convent, together with a detailed list of the monastic estates, which was based on the forgeries of the second half of the twelfth century.[122] The Convent had managed to retain the nucleus of its estates, as described in the *Liber Vitae*, and had, despite the predations of William of St Calais' successors, augmented its possessions.

There is a greater emphasis in John's charter upon the status of the Prior of Durham, an issue which had begun to take shape before the end of Rannulf Flambard's episcopate.[123] Especially notable is the careful listing of the churches to which the Convent laid claim. In keeping with the tendency for ecclesiastical corporations to appropriate the revenues from their churches in the second half of the twelfth century, the Convent asserted its right to the free disposal of its churches together with their dependent chapels. The monastery's possessions in general remained in the same groupings, that is the estates in *Haliwerfolc* together with outlying appendages in Lothian, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. In an age more aware of the dangers of ambiguity the vague phrase *cum omnibus appendiciis* was replaced by the detailed listing of each individual settlement.[124]

Scammell argued convincingly that the Durham forgers were influenced by the papal confirmations which the monastery's envoys began to secure in ever increasing numbers during the twelfth century. The later papal documents themselves must have been issued after the production of some of the Convent's spurious charters.[125] This circle of deceit, with genuine and confected documents confusingly influencing and being influenced by

each other, together with the relatively primitive forensic techniques of the twelfth century, goes far to explain how the Convent of Durham was able to build up an impressively comprehensive corpus of papal, royal, archiepiscopal and episcopal confirmations of its liberties.[126] It was, after all, the lack of such documents dating from the late eleventh century which precipitated the manufacture of the spurious *Ego Willelmus* diploma preserved in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*.

Bishop William of St Calais died at Windsor on January 2 1096. It appears that he had once again fallen foul of Rufus and was due to be arraigned before the *curia regis* upon an unspecified charge, when illness overtook him. His body was removed to Durham where, after a journey lasting a little under a fortnight, it was interred in the chapter house.[127] Symeon describes the abject grief of the monks in the following terms,

Quorum ex tanti patris amissione quantus moeror, quantus luctus, quantus fuerit fletus, puto hic melius taceatur, quam supra id quod cuiquam credibile sit aliquid dicatur. Nullus enim ut reor, tunc inter illos erat, qui non illius vitam, si fieri posset, sua morte redimere vellet.[128]

Symeon's words may have had added poignancy for his fellow monks as, under William of St Calais, the Convent had prospered. Bishop William had governed the Church of St Cuthbert from afar and during his absences the monks, represented in the person of Prior Turgot, had gained a position of considerable influence and freedom within the bishopric.

While the interests of the Bishop and his monks continued in harmony the position of the Convent would remain favourable. Monastic cathedral chapters were only viable if such a close relationship existed and if the Bishop was prepared to utilise the Community in the day-to-day

administration of the diocese. For a Bishop in secular orders, who was not in a position to take advantage of his double status as diocesan and abbot of the cathedral monastery, the monks threatened his authority within the see. Churches controlled by monastic communities were often claimed to be exempt from episcopal exactions and, if they were actually served by monks in priests' orders, there was little opportunity for the Bishop to exploit vacancies, thus curtailing his rights of presentation.[129] Symeon claimed that Bishop William had appointed Turgot as archdeacon of the diocese. The archdeacon was the episcopal officer charged with overseeing the churches and parishes. Thus, by making the Prior an archdeacon, William of St Calais established, in effect, a conventual franchise within the bishopric of St Cuthbert.[130] Bishop William's legacy to the Convent which he had founded was a degree of freedom from episcopal control which many Anglo-Norman houses would have envied. His death threatened this privileged position and it is no surprise to discover that Symeon and his fellow monks felt the loss so acutely.

As Symeon recorded in his *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, William Rufus was not noted for his generous treatment of ecclesiastical institutions. Vacancies in abbeys and bishoprics were treated as valuable resources and meticulously exploited. The see of Durham was kept vacant for three years after the death of William of St Calais, and the agents of the crown were able to divert the farm of the bishopric into the royal coffers.[131] The Convent, however, seems to have escaped the financial phlebotomy usually associated with Rufus' control of vacant bishoprics and abbeys. The monks may even have benefited from the situation with Prior Turgot especially active in promoting monastic interests. For example, a royal writ dating from the period of the vacancy instructed the king's sheriff and vassals of

Carlisle to obey the archdeacon of Durham just as they had in Bishop William's time.[132] The Church of St Cuthbert had claimed spiritual jurisdiction over Carlisle and large areas of the North-West of England since the late seventh century.[133] It is probable that with Rufus' capture of Carlisle and the establishment of an English colony there at the beginning of the 1090s, the Bishop of Durham's influence in the region had been considerably weakened as the settlers sought to distance themselves from the ancient spiritual and secular ties of Cumbria. The vacancy in the see of Durham from 1096 until 1099 provided the ideal opportunity for such a break to be attempted.

It was also in the last decade of the eleventh century that the Church of St Cuthbert benefited from the grants of lands in Lothian by claimants to the throne of Scotland.[134] These outliers of the bishopric to the north of the Tweed were associated with early Anglian monasteries and the Convent's claim probably rested on Lindisfarne's status as the *mater ecclesiarum* of ancient Northumbria.[135] Turgot has already been seen acting on behalf of the Church of St Cuthbert in Jedburgh, whilst Coldingham Priory was to become a cell of Durham and the home of the 'last English monks on Scottish soil'.[136]

Historians from the twelfth century onwards have described how the exactions which Rufus made from vacant bishoprics and abbeyes were superintended by a certain *procurator*, Rannulf Flambard.[137] According to one account produced at Winchester, Flambard held sixteen vacant sees and abbeyes in 1097 alone.[138] It was probably the knowledge of the wealth of the Church of St Cuthbert, not to mention its prestige in the North of England, which prompted Rannulf to petition the king for the vacant episcopal throne at Durham. Flambard may even have purchased the bishopric

from Rufus and, for this simoniacal act, amongst other offences, he was called to account by Pope Paschal II after charges had been brought by Archbishop Anselm.[139] Before his elevation to the see of Durham, Bishop Rannulf had made a study of collecting ecclesiastical benefices in order to support the extended family group associated with him. As will be seen Flambard exploited his position to provide his close relatives with estates and offices not only within the see of Durham and elsewhere in England, but also across the Channel in his native Normandy. The number of the Bishop's *nepotes* who seem to have benefited from his patronage is remarkable even for such an ambitious philoprogenitor.[140] There was, then, with the elevation of Flambard to the see of St Cuthbert, on the one hand a Convent enjoying a privileged position within the bishopric, and, on the other, a secular Bishop with little or no sympathy for the rights of monastic corporations and whose aims included the establishment of a landholding dynasty. The harmony of interest which had characterised William of St Calais' pontificate began to sound the first few discordant notes which, by the end of Hugh du Puiset's episcopate, had become a jarring cacophony.

From 1099 until 1141 the episcopal throne of Durham was occupied by two secular churchmen who had both held the highest offices in the royal administration. Bishop Rannulf Flambard (1099-1128) was succeeded, after another vacancy (1128-1133) which again proved lucrative for the royal treasury, by Geoffrey-Rufus, Henry I's Chancellor. The see of Durham was among the wealthiest in England and it is understandable that it should have become something of a prize for loyal administrative officers of the crown. During the vacancy after William of St Calais' death Rufus drew around £300 *per annum* from the see.[141] If a miracle story concerning a certain Ralph '*...qui ipsius sancti populum regi tributum solvere*

compelleret...' [142], may be assigned to Rufus' reign rather than that of his father, then this would seem to confirm that Flambard had a personal involvement in the raising of revenue from the see. In addition the special privileges of the Church of St Cuthbert offered the Bishop of Durham the opportunity of wielding more direct power than many of his contemporaries, whether clerics or laymen. The Liberty of St Cuthbert must have proved a strong attraction for those who had exercised authority on behalf of the King and who had gained a taste for autocracy.[143]

Rannulf Flambard's career as the archetypal *factotum* of the first Norman kings has been examined in detail. In the nineteenth century Flambard was seen as the architect of feudalism in England. More recently Sir Richard Southern has attempted to re-examine Rannulf's career in order to explain the almost universal notoriety which he achieved in contemporary sources. In Southern's revisionist essay Flambard becomes a super-efficient civil servant, the first in 'the great line of administrators who fashioned and finally destroyed the medieval system of government in England'.[144]

Any examination of Flambard's career as Bishop of Durham has to avoid two pitfalls. The first is the temptation to anticipate his actions at Durham by referring to his policies during the reign of William Rufus on behalf of the crown. In the traditions of those twelfth-century chroniclers who saw Rannulf as an evil genius, historians writing of the Church of Durham have branded him as a despoiler of the bishopric and an oppressor of the Convent.[145] The second danger arises from attempts to ameliorate Flambard's reputation. In this respect his career at Durham seems to offer crucial evidence of another side of the royal servant. The 'despoiler' becomes the 'great builder and pious benefactor of hermits and hospitals', and any piece of information which seems to prove that Flambard was not

the Machiavellian villain of legend is seized upon and held up as proof that Bishop Rannulf has been much misunderstood. Each of these interpretations is, in its own way, misleading. In this respect Flambard's relationship with the Convent of Durham is crucial to any appraisal of the man of whom Sir Richard Southern wrote,

It would be difficult to find any other person, who was neither a king nor a saint, about whom so many writers of this period had something original to say.[146]

The evidence from Durham regarding Rannulf Flambard must be judged in its context, that is within the general history of the Norman impact on the Church of St Cuthbert.

The most obvious problem to affect the relationship of the Convent with Rannulf Flambard was the fact that the Bishop was not a member of a monastic order. This immediately threw into question his position as *ex officio* abbot of the monastery. The stress which Symeon's work lays on the qualities of the ideal bishop for the Church of St Cuthbert may have been a thinly veiled criticism of Flambard's suitability for the role.[147] Whenever seculars had interrupted the sequence of monastic bishops, disaster had overtaken the Church.[148] It should be noted, however, that compared to the portrayal of Bishop Rannulf in other twelfth-century sources, the historians of the Church of Durham were moderate in their censure. This may be due, in the case of those writing during his episcopate, to a fear of the consequences of overt criticism. Those seeking to improve Flambard's reputation would argue that this reflects the fact that he was not the great oppressor of the Church of St Cuthbert which the monks might have expected him to be.[149]

Although perhaps no tyrant, Bishop Rannulf did seek to exploit his tenure of Durham for the benefit of himself and his family. During the early years of his episcopate Flambard's room for manoeuvre was restricted by the strength of the Convent's position, especially under the leadership of Prior Turgot, and by the need to concentrate his energies on an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to bribe his way back into royal favour after his arrest and exile at the beginning of Henry I's reign. It was only after the removal of Turgot in 1107 and the final realisation that he would never regain his former position at the head of the royal administration, that Flambard began to turn his attention to the diocese of Durham.[150]

It is a measure of Turgot's status that the only method that could be found of removing him from the bishopric was to promote him to the see of St Andrews. There is no suggestion that Flambard might simply have deposed the Prior, the solution which was found by Hugh du Puiset in his dealings with Prior Thomas in 1162.[151] Flambard's eagerness for Turgot to take up the appointment at St Andrews was viewed as somewhat unseemly by Anselm. Little is known of the character of Turgot's successor, Algar, but it is unlikely that can have posed the kind of threat to episcopal freedom as did his predecessor. For the first years of his episcopate Flambard was absent from Durham. His imprisonment and exile brought the seizure of his lands by Henry I and his vassals. There survives a series of copies of documents which relate to Flambard's restoration after the Treaty of Alton, and which may have been part of an early episcopal register.[152] This evidence suggests that as soon as Rannulf was committed to the Tower of London, his estates in Yorkshire were seized as well as land in Lincolnshire, Northumberland and Kent.

Archbishop Gerard of York wrote to Turgot and the monks advising them to receive the Bishop, on his return from exile 'with reverence as lord and father, and [to] obey him in all things as good sons'. [153] A number of the documents repeat the king's orders to reseise the Bishop which suggests that Flambard experienced some difficulty in retrieving certain estates from those who had confiscated them. [154] In addition, not only was Bishop Rannulf obliged to purchase royal favour in order to recover his lands, but he had to rely on the help of the sheriff of York in the pursuit of fugitives who had seized the opportunity presented by the Bishop's absence to renounce his lordship and move into Northumberland. In sum, the evidence from the first decade of Rannulf's pontificate points to a man intent upon recovering property and prestige lost during his enforced period of absence. The Convent, led by the formidable Prior Turgot, posed a considerable obstacle to the free exercise of his episcopal authority. However, with the removal of Turgot and Flambard's acceptance of the fact that his position at court had been usurped by a new generation of royal administrators led by Roger of Salisbury, Bishop Rannulf began to concentrate his attention upon his bishopric and implemented policies which were to sour relations with the Convent.

The sources for Flambard's pontificate at Durham are not abundant but they do include the earliest authentic episcopal *acta* from the diocese. [155] With respect to Bishop Rannulf's relationship with the Convent, the most illuminating of these charters are those which deal with his restoration of certain revenues and properties to the monks. About a month before his death on 5 September 1128, Flambard had placed his ring upon the High Altar of the cathedral as a token of the restitution which he had made. [156] Using the charter which recorded this event, together with

Henry I's confirmation of it in 1129, it is possible to establish the extent of Bishop Rannulf's exactions from the Convent of Durham.[157]

Rannulf's charter opens with the restoration of altar offerings and burial fees to the monks. The fame of the shrine of St Cuthbert ensured that the gifts which the pilgrims offered at the altar represented an asset of considerable value.[158] The Bishop also resealed the monks with 'the land beyond the bridge of Durham', Staindropshire, Blakiston, Wolviston, land in Burdon and the church of Kirby Sigston in Yorkshire.[159] Perhaps the most important clause was that which guaranteed the Convent the free disposition of all its property both *infra ecclesiam et extra*. Professor Offler believed that this document provides little evidence that Flambard's episcopate had been particularly oppressive. He argued that the Bishop's exactions had been moderate. The proceeds from the appropriated altar offerings and burial fees were put towards the building of the cathedral and that, in any case, the ambiguities of the situation under Bishop William meant that Flambard had simply '...interpreted to his own advantage some possibly quite genuine uncertainties about the terms on which St Cuthbert's lands had been divided between the Bishop and the monastery in 1083.'[160] On the question of the funding of the ecclesiastical building at Durham, Symeon was quite clear. The Bishop alone was to pay for the construction of the cathedral whilst the monks would accept the costs of their conventual quarters.[161] In the Convent's view, then, Flambard had broken an agreement which his predecessor had made with the monks. However Bishop Rannulf justified his exactions the point was, not so much the extent of his depredations, but rather the fact that they had occurred at all. Such inroads into monastic privilege set dangerous precedents and any infringement of the rights which the Convent had held in the episcopate of

Bishop William and the vacancy of 1096 to 1099, would have been considered a grievous oppression. In addition, many of Flambard's exactions were not put to pious works and a great proportion of them must have been sent to Henry I in the Bishop's attempt to purchase royal favour.[162]

The one area in which Flambard was especially successful was in the establishment of a landed dynasty within the bishopric of Durham. His kin, somewhat euphemistically termed the *nepotes episcopi*, came to hold positions of honour within the see of St Cuthbert and, again and again, they crop up throughout the twelfth century as among the leading figures of the feudal nobility of Durham. For example, Osbert, one of the Bishop's 'nephews' became the episcopal sheriff before Flambard's death and continued to hold the office into the pontificate of William of Ste Barbe. Bishop Rannulf's son, William was holding three knights' fees of St Cuthbert's land according to the 1166 *carta* returned by the Bishop. The family continued to be influential throughout the rest of the century.[163]

Although, as has been suggested, there was no formal confirmation of the Convent's lands during the episcopate of William of St Calais, there can be no doubt that, from 1083 onwards, the monks had a clear idea of which properties they considered their own. The 'genuine uncertainties' of which Professor Offler speaks are only present in terms of the surviving historical record. It is difficult to believe that contemporaries of Symeon would have been as vague about the extent of the monastic endowment as the dearth of documentary evidence suggests. Among the estates which Rannulf abstracted from the Convent was Blakiston which was granted along with Eighton and Ravensworth to another of his *nepotes*, Richard, to be held as half of a knight's fee. Blakiston, worth forty shillings *per annum* was included amongst the lands which Flambard restored to the monks in 1128

probably at their express petition. Their determination to recover the property suggests a confidence in the proprietorial right as is shown by the fact that they continued to press for Blakiston's restoration in the year after the Bishop's death. Richard seems to have been reluctant to relinquish the estate and the Convent was forced to petition Henry I who specifically made mention of Blakiston in his confirmation of Flambard's charter in 1129.[164] A second royal writ repeated the order and charged the custodians of the see with its implementation. In the end Richard retained the property but was to hold it from the Convent rather than from the Bishop. This episode demonstrates the monks' tenacity in pursuit of their rights and suggests that they, at least, had no uncertainty as to their ownership of Blakiston.

The issue of the prior's position as archdeacon of the diocese of Durham reappears during Rannulf's pontificate. Turgot seems to have been the sole archdeacon whilst he remained in Durham, although he may have delegated his duties to two monks of the Convent.[165] After Turgot's departure for Scotland Flambard seized his chance to restore episcopal authority by appointing a certain Michael to the archidiaconate. Before his death Bishop Rannulf seems to have divided the office in two, entrusting the new posts to *Rodbertus clericus* and Rannulf, who was, inevitably, another of Flambard's own relatives.[166] Unfortunately there is no evidence as to whether this division was made on a territorial basis or whether Robert and Rannulf succeeded in imposing the Bishop's will on the see. The two archdeacons are noticed in the main among the witnesses to episcopal or conventual *acta*. However, Robert's attitude towards the monks may have been betrayed by his espousal of William Cumin's cause in 1141, although it should be noticed that his colleague joined Prior Roger in

opposing the Scottish chancellor's bid for the episcopate.[167] Thus, before the end of his pontificate Rannulf Flambard had undermined the Convent's position at Durham in a number of ways. He had challenged the validity of the accommodation over the privileges and possessions of the monks which had governed the relationship between Bishop and Convent during William of St Calais' pontificate. This had enabled him to abstract properties and reassert his authority over the appointment of the principal episcopal officers. Above all Flambard proved that a strong-willed Bishop could dispose of the revenues and properties of the monks as he wished.

There is evidence to suggest that Bishop Rannulf took the responsibilities of his office as diocesan seriously and that he made an attempt, at least, to discharge his duties with a dignity befitting his office. The account of the 1104 translation of the relics of St Cuthbert preserves a vignette of Flambard as a preaching bishop delivering a sermon to the assembled crowds. The Bishop's lengthy peroration was interrupted by a sudden downpour which not only cut short the episcopal ramblings but also afforded an opportunity of displaying once more the miraculous properties of the relics which remained dry throughout the deluge.[168] Another *miraculum* associated with the translation hints at a certain amount of antagonism towards Flambard's household. One of the Bishop's clerks abstracted a silken thread from the ties of a leather bag containing Cuthbert's copy of St John's Gospel. The thief was suitably chastised by St Cuthbert and the Prior ordered him to return the thread to the saint.[169]

On a more positive note Bishop Rannulf tried to recover Carlisle and Teviotdale, those parts of the diocese lost during his exile. He was also responsible for the foundation of the hospital at St Giles which was later re-established by Hugh du Puiset at Kepyner [170]. In addition Flambard was

the earliest patron of the hermit Godric, granting him a portion of the episcopal forest in which to build his retreat. Amongst his entourage was William of Corbeil, the scholar of Laon, who was later to become the archbishop of Canterbury. William may have acted as tutor to two of Flambard's sons suggesting that the Bishop was aware of the value of a theological education.[171] At York, Flambard was remembered as a loyal suffragan of Archbishop Thurstan during the protracted dispute with Canterbury over York's profession of obedience.[172]

To some historians the image of Rannulf Flambard as a pious churchman sits ill with conventional conceptions of him. Even his staunchest apologists feel constrained to mention incidents more in keeping with the usual portrayal of Flambard, which may have been nothing more than scurrilous rumours.[173] For example the biographer of Christina of Markyate cited Bishop Rannulf's attempted seduction of the young woman as one of a series of obstacles which she had to overcome in order to fulfil a vow to retain her virginity.[174] Another story in the same vein concerned the papal legate John of Crema's visit to Durham to investigate Flambard's procreative activities. Bishop Rannulf arranged to have one of his nieces entertain the legate and, at a crucial moment, Flambard entered the room with a group of revellers to complete John of Crema's discomfiture.[175]

Flambard's pontificate was a period of great building activity in the see. An episcopal castle was built at Norham-on-Tweed, the defences of Durham were added to and the construction of the cathedral continued throughout the pontificate.[176] The monk, Lawrence of Durham, looked back to Bishop Rannulf's time as one of prosperity,

His was a spirit worthy of Durham, worthy of riches, worthy of honour, dispensing hospitality with the best. That was our golden age, under

Rannulf our Bishop. His works show his wealth and declare that their author was a truly great-hearted man. Durham demands such a man - great in spirit, liberal in spending - for Durham is no empty shell for the man who holds it.[177]

Lawrence was impressed by Rannulf's display of conspicuous consumption not by any show of piety. It suggests that Flambard hoped to exploit his position at Durham in order to build up an ecclesiastical honour to rival the greatest of those of his secular contemporaries.

Bishop Rannulf's death allowed the Convent to reassert itself and the long vacancy before Geoffrey-Rufus' appointment served to relieve the pressure which the monks had experienced during the latter part of Flambard's episcopate. As has been suggested, it was around this time that the Convent first formulated its claims in the *Liber Vitae*. The monks' experiences under Bishop Rannulf had underlined the need for a clear statement of their position and, as a consequence, the first of the series of papal confirmations had been obtained.[178] However, the election of another royal official, Henry's chancellor Geoffrey-Rufus, must have been a severe blow to monastic aspirations.

According to the Continuation of Symeon's *Historia*, Geoffrey-Rufus began his episcopate by treating the monks much as his predecessor had done. However, by the end of his pontificate the Bishop had mellowed in his attitudes and was prepared to confirm the privileges of the Convent.[179] The author of the *Continuatio* explained the Bishop's early maltreatment of the monks as being due to the influence of certain unnamed individuals, who, like so many of their contemporaries, sought to exploit the confusion of Stephen's reign. Henry I's chancellor from 1123 until 1133, Geoffrey-Rufus was one of Stephen's most important supporters since the strategic

position of his bishopric left him facing the Empress Matilda's ally, David I of Scotland.[180]

The evidence of Geoffrey-Rufus' surviving *acta* indicates that he made modest grants to the Convent. The vills of Cocken and Wolviston together with land in Grimesthorp in Yorkshire were confirmed to the monks. Both Cocken and Wolviston had been held by native Northumbrian families. Cocken, for example, was made over to the Church of St Cuthbert when Eilaf II, the last of the family of hereditary priests of Hexham joined the Convent. Wolviston was held by a certain 'Clibert' whose son, Roger of Kibblesworth, was given a French name and became one of the barons of the bishopric.[181]

During Geoffrey's pontificate the rivalry between the episcopal officers and the Convent intensified. By the time of his death two parties had emerged within the bishopric, to some extent mirroring the divisions within the country as a whole. This factionalism will be examined further in a later chapter [182], but it is pertinent to the present discussion in that the Church of Durham was split into two camps. Archdeacon Robert joined those who supported William Cumin's bid for control of the see, whilst his colleague, Rannulf, sided with Prior Roger and the Convent who were seeking the election of their own candidate. The struggle acquired a wider significance with the involvement of David of Scotland on one side and Stephen and his brother, Bishop Henry of Winchester, on the other. David's ambition to control the North of England as far south as the Tees explains his initial support for his Chancellor's attempt to succeed Geoffrey-Rufus. In reply the Convent enlisted the aid of Bishop Henry, the papal legate, and King Stephen thereby bringing national politics into the diocese of Durham.

By 1137 the Convent had acquired a Prior who proved to be a worthy successor to Turgot. Roger, (died c.1148) was a formidable opponent of Cumin's designs on the see and it was largely his action at the papal *curia*, supported by Archdeacon Rannulf, which secured the appointment of the Dean of York, William of Ste Barbe as Bishop Of Durham [183].

The election of William of Ste Barbe represented an important triumph for the Convent, as it could now claim the first voice in the election of the diocesan. Such a concession gave the monks the opportunity of ensuring that their Bishop was a man sympathetic to their cause. William of Ste Barbe was a member of the new ecclesiastical influence in the North of England represented by the recent Cistercian foundations at Fountains and Rievaulx.[184] At the same time as Durham was experiencing difficulties over the election of its Bishop, a dispute erupted in the archdiocese of York where the Cistercian reform party, led by Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains with the formidable backing of Bernard of Clairvaux, strenuously opposed the Archbishop-elect William fitz Herbert, Stephen's nephew.[185]

It is possible to detect the influence of the Reform party on the new Bishop of Durham for a significant number of his surviving *acta* record grants to the Cistercians of Rievaulx and Newminster, and to the canons of Guisborough.[186] This diversion of resources away from the Church of St Cuthbert may have been seen as a threat by the monks of Durham who, up until William of Ste Barbe's pontificate, had had a virtual monopoly on pious donations within the see.[187] However, when monastic privileges were to be defended against the pretensions of secular priests, the Convent of Durham found the reforming Bishop and his colleagues to be influential allies.

During Bishop William of Ste Barbe's tenure of the see of Durham a definitive statement was made regarding the relative position of the Prior and the Archdeacon within the diocese. Although the authenticity of the document which purports to set out the decision of a tribunal convened to examine the dispute has been questioned, its contents seem to accord with the development of the relationship between Bishop and Convent described thus far. The tribunal consisted of Bishop William, Robert, Abbot of Newminster and Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, all of whom were prominent members of the Northern reform movement.[188] Ailred himself had close connections with the Church of St Cuthbert as his father, Eilaf II, the grantor of Cocken, had become a brother of the Convent.[189]

Before this panel Archdeacon Wazo of Durham, who had succeeded Robert after the latter had lost his office through his support for Cumin, pleaded the validity of his claim to be the Bishop's deputy in the diocese. Witnesses were called, who testified that as far as they could remember,

...tempore Willelmi primi et Rannulfi episcoporum videre Aldhunum [sic. Recte. 'Aldwinum'] et Turgotum priores sedem abbatis in choro habuisse et sedem primam et vocem et locum primum post episcopum in omnibus obtinuisse, et omnes priores Dunelmenses dexteram episcopi omnibus diebus usque ad diem illam absque omni calumpnia sustentasse necnon et archidiaconos quadam illorum imperio et regimini utpote qui super eos sicut decani et archipresbiteri ipsorum preeminebant subditos fuisse...[190]

The Prior's place in the abbot's stall in the choir, together with his position second only to that of the Bishop recalls the status enjoyed by Turgot during the Convent's ascendancy in the last decades of the eleventh century and the opening years of the twelfth. The equation of the Prior of Durham with the Dean of the Church of York may have been at the suggestion

of the Bishop of Durham himself as an erstwhile tenant of the latter office.

In addition, the archdeacon was to be preceded by the subprior should the Prior happen to be absent. Not only was there a diminution of archidiaconal status, but there was also a corresponding elevation of that of the Prior. The appointment of secular priests to the bishopric of Durham and the subsequent weakening of episcopal claims to be head of the monastic community, allowed the Prior to attain abbatial status in all but name. This tribunal, consisting of the monks' choice as Bishop as well as two prominent abbots, whose houses had benefited from Bishop William II's gifts, was unlikely to be sympathetic to the claims of a secular archdeacon.

Thus, by the beginning of the second half of the twelfth century, the Convent was once more in a position of considerable influence within the diocese of Durham. Although the arguments with regard to the Prior's status were to be refined in the forgeries of Hugh du Puiset's pontificate [191], the basic lines of development in the relationship between the Bishops of Durham and the monastic cathedral chapter are clear.

Under William of St Calais the harmony of interests between the Bishop-Abbot and his monks, together with the former's frequent absences, enabled the Convent to establish a position of privilege within the see. Under Prior Turgot the monks acquired a franchise made more secure by the appointment of the Prior as archdeacon. However, once Rannulf Flambard was in a position to assert his authority, the monks began to lose their ground and realised that they would have to fight tenaciously for their possession of estates and privileges which they had hitherto considered their own. The lack of documentary title in support of these conventual claims prompted

the production of the first of the Durham forgeries, and may even have stimulated the compilation of Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*. Monastic fortunes experienced a partial recovery at the end of Geoffrey-Rufus' pontificate and allowed the Convent to emerge from the Cumin episode with its own choice as Bishop. The statement of the tribunal of 1147 marks the high point in monastic claims to hold the balance of power within the bishopric.

Paradoxically it was this very ascendancy of the Convent which was to prove disastrous before the end of the twelfth century. On William of Ste Barbe's death (13 November 1152), there was another struggle for power within the diocese. Amid the plundering of the see by its guardian, Roger Conyers, the clergy and people elected the Archdeacon of York, Hugh du Puiset.[192] By 1150 the reform party had achieved a large measure of ascendancy in the archiepiscopal see of York as, in 1147, Henry Murdac had successfully ousted William fitz Herbert and ascended the archbishop's throne himself. Archdeacon Hugh, a protege of the Blois-Chartres family, strenuously opposed Murdac and earned a sentence of excommunication for himself in 1148. Later the Archbishop refused to sanction Hugh's appointment and excommunicated all those who had directed his election. The King and Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury were drawn into the dispute and the situation continued to worsen until Hugh's party succeeded in having him consecrated at Rome by Anastasius IV on 21 December 1153.[193]

Hugh du Puiset's cause had benefitted greatly from the deaths of Murdac, St Bernard and Eugenius III, the leaders of the reforming party.[194] The new Bishop was enthroned at Durham on 2 May 1154 and, to the Convent which had been instrumental in securing his election, it must have seemed that their position was secure. However, Bishop Hugh gradually

began to assert episcopal rights within the see, thereby eroding the privileges of the Convent. The nadir of monastic fortunes was reached in 1162 when Prior Thomas was deposed by episcopal *fiat*. The Convent responded to this challenge with furious diplomatic activity, their case based upon a corpus of forged foundation charters which had grown in size and sophistication in response to each new episcopal attack.[195]

Ultimately, then, the position of the Convent within the see of Durham was dependent upon its relationship with the Bishop. By the end of William of Ste Barbe's pontificate the Convent was claiming the principal voice in the election of the successors to St Cuthbert. Despite the protestations of the monastic forgers, the Convent's fortunes were at the mercy of episcopal authority. The episcopal conscience was, however, the one great ally of the monks. The onset of terminal illness and the imminent prospect of meeting St Cuthbert face-to-face, prompted those Bishops who were accused of oppressing the Convent into making extensive death-bed restitutions to the monks. In 1195 Hugh du Puiset issued documents restoring to the Convent many of the privileges and possessions which he had abstracted.[196] Just as his predecessor Rannulf Flambard had done, Bishop Hugh hoped that a comprehensive if somewhat belated settlement would earn him the prayers of those he had despoiled during his episcopate.

Endnotes.

1. The chronicles of Geoffrey of Coldingham and Robert de Graystones, the major sources for the pontificates of Hugh du Puiset, Philip of Poitou and Richard de Marisco, are to be found in [ed.] J. Raine, *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, (SS, 9, [1839]), pp. 1-123. The career of Bishop Hugh has been examined in detail by G.V. Scammell in his *Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham*, (Cambridge, 1956).
2. *Composicio, inter Ricardum dictum Pauper episcopum Dunelmensem et Priorem et Conventum Dunelmensem, quae dicitur 'Le Convent'*, DC Durham, 1.4. Pont. 4. Printed in [ed.] Rev. W. Greenwell, *FPD*, (SS, 58, [1871]), pp.212-217.
3. For the development of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, see above cap. 2.
4. The immediate circumstances surrounding the issuing of *Le Convent* are discussed by Professor F. Barlow in his *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, (Oxford, 1950), especially at pp. 30-40.
5. For the establishment of the Benedictine Convent at Durham in 1083, see above, cap. 4.
6. The unfortunate Prior Thomas was elected by the Convent and encouraged to confront Hugh du Puiset over monastic claims in the church of Northallerton. However, when Thomas aired the Convent's grievances, *Fratribus vero, sicut cera a facie ignis, illico timore solutis, et eum sibi in conflictu relinquentibus, violentia depositus, cessit; et Farne secedens fine quievit*. [Geoffrey of Coldingham, *Liber de Statu Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, in HDST, p. 8. See also, Scammell, *HdP*, p. 133.
7. For Rannulf Flambard, see below, pp.237-8; for Geoffrey-Rufus, pp.237-8; for William of Ste Barbe, pp.239-41.
8. Foremost among those historians who have judged that the relationship between the Convent and William of St Calais became strained is Professor Barlow in *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, p.8.
9. See above, cap. 4, pp.163-4
10. *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, [ed.] D. Knowles, (Nelson's Medieval Classics, 1951). The text is also to be found in a revised edition in *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, [ed.] K. Hallinger, (Sieburg, 1967), vol. III. The text principally used by Knowles for his edition of Lanfranc's *Consuetudines* was drawn from Durham Cathedral Ms. B. IV. 24, a collection of monastic materials thought to have belonged to William of St Calais. (See R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 51, p. 45).
11. For the monastic careers of Lanfranc and William of St Calais, see, *inter alios*, M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* and H.S. Offler, 'William of St Calais, First Norman Bishop of Durham,' (TAASDN, X, pt. iii, pp. 258-279).
12. For example, the dispute between the abbey of Bury St Edmunds and the Bishops of Norwich over monastic immunities continued into the twelfth

- century. See F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, pp. 172-173. The abbey's position was still being strenuously defended at the end of the twelfth century, see Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, trans. by Diana Greenway and Jane Sayers. (Oxford, 1989).
13. 'Let no-one be surprised that in the course of these customs the title of abbot, and not that of Bishop or Archbishop is used. We are describing a monastic way of life and monks are more often ruled by an abbot than by a bishop - though indeed Bishops, if being in Christ's place they take a father's care of their subjects, may not improperly be called abbots, that is fathers, for the name suits the act.' Lanfranc's introductory letter to Prior Henry from the *Consuetudines*, trans. Knowles, pp. 2-3.
14. Symeon, HDE, in [ed.] T. Arnold, SMO, I, pp. 1-135. The anonymous *Continuatio Prima* and *Continuatio Altera* of Symeon's work are printed in SMO, I, pp. 135-160 and 161-168, respectively.
15. For a discussion of the tract *De Iniusta Vexatione...*, (printed in T. Arnold, SMO, I, pp. 171-94), see H.S. Offler, 'The Tractate "De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi Episcopi primi"', in EHR, LXVI (1951). Offler argued that the document was a later fabrication designed to vindicate the reputation of the founder of the monastery. Professor Barlow found Offler's case 'unconvincing' and, indeed, there is nothing to conclusively prove that the tract was from the twelfth century rather than the late eleventh. See F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, p. 281, note 46.
16. The forgeries are discussed below, pp. 208-24
17. *Capitula de Miraculis et Translationibus Sancti Cuthberti*, printed in T. Arnold, ed. SMO, I, pp. 229-261 and II, pp. 333-362. B. Colgrave, 'The post-Bedan Translations and Miracles of St Cuthbert', in eds. C Fox, B Dickins, *The Early Culture of North-West Europe*, (H.M. Chadwick Memorial Studies), (Cambridge, 1950), and see below, Appendix C.
18. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 122.
19. See above, cap. 4, pp. 172ff.
20. Symeon, HDE, I, pp. 122-124.
21. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 123.
22. Leofwin may be the monk of that name present at the Translation of St Cuthbert's body to the new cathedral in 1104. As the monks hesitated over whether or not to proceed with the examination of the corpse, Leofwin reassured them that they were not committing a sacrilegious act as it was evidently God's will that the miracle of Cuthbert's incorruption should be revealed. See the anonymous account of the translation, printed in SMO, I, pp. 247-261, especially at p. 251, *Porro inter alios ibidem aderat quidam magnae in Christo constantiae frater, qui eam, quam nomine praetendebat, per effectum gratiae caritatem consecutus fuerat. Vocabatur enim Leofwinus, quod Anglorum lingua dicitur Carus Amicus; ipse utique carus Deo, amicus et Deus illi.* For the duties of the sacristan, see Lanfranc's *Consuetudines*, ed. Knowles, pp. 82-85. The post carried with it great responsibility and

was usually entrusted to senior members of the Community. Was Leofwin's appointment a formal recognition of the post he had formerly held as a member of the *Congregatio*?

23. Turgot's career was outlined in HR, II, pp. 202ff. See also, R.H. Forster, 'Turgot, Prior of Durham', in JBAA, LXIII, (1907), pp. 32-40; and below pp. 204-5

24. *Denique terrarum possessiones illorum ita a suis possessionibus segregavit, ut suas omnino ab episcopi servitio, et ab omni consuetudine liberas et quietas ad suum victum et vestitum terras monachi possiderent.* Symeon, HDE, I, p. 123.

25. The estate of Billingham in the south-east of the bishopric had been lost to the Church of St Cuthbert during the Scandinavian settlement at the beginning of the tenth century. For a brief note on the estate's history, see H.S. Offler, DEC, pp. 9-10.

26. Symeon, HDE, I, pp. 123-24.

27. *Antiqua enim ipsius ecclesiae hoc exigit consuetudo, ut qui Deo coram sancti Cuthberti corpore ministrant, segregatas a terris episcopi suas habeant.* Symeon, HDE, I, p.123.

28. The situation at Canterbury was discussed by B.W. Kissan, 'Lanfranc's Alleged Division of lands between Archbishop and Community' in EHR, LIV, (1939), pp.285-93, and, more recently, by N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, (Leicester, 1984).

29. On the early estates of the Church of Lindisfarne, see above, cap. 2, pp. 25-40

30. The sources are discussed in detail by Edmund Craster, 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', EHR, LXIX, (1954), and by D.J. Hall, 'The Community of St Cuthbert; Its properties, rights and claims from the Ninth Century to the Twelfth'. Unpublished Oxford, D.Phil. thesis, (1983).

31. The descent of these estates is traced in the tract *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, printed in SMO, I, pp. 215-220.

32. It is likely that the Bishops of the Church of St Cuthbert were recruited from among the local aristocracy. The substantial landholdings of the Community brought it into contact with the most powerful members of Northumbrian society and Aldhun's attempted alliance with the comital family suggests the meeting of two equally influential dynasties.

33. Ecgfrida was repudiated three times and eventually became a nun. possibly at, or near, Durham. DOD, pp. 216-217.

34. HSC, s.21, SMO, I, p. 208. See above, cap. 2, p. 46

35. H.H.E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', EHR, XL, (1925), pp. 504-32.

36. For example, Athelstan's gift of South Wearmouth, in Craster, RBD, p. 525.
37. Bishop William of St Calais' gift of the churches of Welton and Howden was made to the 'monks serving God in the Church of St Cuthbert for all time'; Craster, RBD, p. 529. On the grant of these churches see below, p. 219.
38. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 90.
39. HSC s.32 in SMO, I, p. 213.
40. The grant of Staindrop by Prior Algar and the Convent survives in a copy in Durham, DC, Cart. Secund. f. 186v. It was printed by Greenwell in FPD, pp. 56n-57n.
41. Staindrop was one of the properties which Bishop Rannulf restored to the monks in 1128, Durham, DC, 2.1. Pont. 1; see DEC no. 24 and above, p. 232. Symeon's chronicle is thought to have been produced c. 1104-9 and his passage stressing the Convent's ownership of Staindrop may indicate that the Bishop had usurped the property before the completion of the *Historia*.
42. *Ideo nos vidimus expedire, propter pacis caritatisque custodiam, in abbatis pendere arbitrio ordinationem monasterii sui.* The Rule of St Benedict, ed. and trans. Abbot Justin McCann, (London, 1952), p. 150.
43. *Omnis totius monasterii ordinatio ex eius [i.e. the abbot] arbitrio pendeat.* Knowles, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, p. 74.
44. Although Symeon does suggest that the appointments were made with the Convent's advice. See, for example, ...*communi consilio*... HDE, I, pp. 123, 127.
45. The forged charter, Durham DC 1.1. Pont. 2b, which is thought to have been concocted in the early 1160s, claimed that the brethren should have the right to elect their own prior, ...*prior communi fratrum consensu et voluntate eligatur*.... Offler, DEC, no. *3a, p. 16 and see note on p. 24.
46. *At vero episcopus Willelmus nihil unquam de ecclesia auferebat; quin potius semper inferre, et multis eam ac pretiosus ornamentorum speciebus studebat exornare.* Symeon, HDE, I, p. 125.
47. See, for example, *The Rule of St Benedict*, ed. McCann, cap. 3, p. 25.
48. See above, note 44.
49. Symeon's account of William of St Calais is to be found in HDE, Lib. IV, caps. i-x, pp. 119-35.
50. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 125.
51. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 128. For the manuscripts thought to have formed William of St Calais' Library, see R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, nos. 30-51.

52. *Guillelmus Dunhelmensis episcopus suis in Christo fratribus et filiis Dunhelmensibus coenibitis salutem et vivificam benedictionem.* Bishop William's letter to the Convent as preserved in Symeon, HDE, Lib. IV, cap. vi, p. 126.
53. The vagaries of the Community of St Cuthbert's peripatetic lifestyle after their evacuation of Lindisfarne in 875, were, according to Symeon (HDE, I, p. 8) partly to blame for the demise of monastic discipline amongst those who tended the saint's shrine.
54. See P. Chaplais, 'William of St Calais and the Domesday Survey', in ed. J.C. Holt, *Domesday Studies*, pp. 65-77, and above, cap. 4, p. 140, n. 33.
55. There is a note on Bishop William's activities in Normandy during his exile in C.W. David's *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), p. 59 note 79. According to Symeon Bishop William was received 'more as a father than an exile' by the Duke and the administration of Normandy was committed to his care [Symeon, HDE, I, p. 128].
56. This was certainly the opinion of C.W. David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 59, n. 79. See F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 281-2 and note 76.
57. In 1093 Bishop William was able to secure a charter from William Rufus allowing him to hold in free alms all those lands in England for which he had previously owed military service. See H.H.E. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record', no. 1, p. 36; RRAN, no. 338.
58. Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, (RS, 1884), pp. 53ff. An account of the trial is given in F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 338-42.
59. The development of the office of archdeacon has been examined by C. Brooke in 'The Archdeacon and the Norman Conquest' in eds. D.E. Greenway, C. Holdsworth, J. Sayers, *Tradition and Change ; Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 1-19.
60. The 'archdeacon' is mentioned in the pre-Conquest 'Northumbrian Priests' Law' (c. 1020 x 1023), in EHD, ed. D. Whitelock, no. 53, pp. 434-39, see Brooke, 'Archdeacon', p. 6. The duties of the office are outlined in Jean Scammell, 'The Rural Chapter in England from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century', EHR, LXXXVI (1971), pp. 1-21 and A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages; Archdeacons and Rural Deans', PBA, XXIX, (1943), pp. 153-194.
61. The early archdeacons of Durham have been investigated by H.S. Offler, 'The Early Archdeacons of the Diocese of Durham', TAASDN, II, pt. iii, (1962), pp. 189-207. Offler's article amends Barlow's Appendix, ('The Earliest Archdeacons of Durham') to his *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, pp. 153-56.
62. LVD, (SS, 13, [1841]), p. 134; Offler, 'Early Archdeacons', pp. 192-3. Cf. Barlow, DJP, p. 155.
63. Symeon, HR, II, p. 209; Offler, 'Early Archdeacons', pp. 191-2.

64. A 'Thurstinus' does, however, occur at number 76 on the list of monks of Durham preserved in Symeon's HDE; see cap. 4 above. The obit of a *Turstinus sacerdos* on viii kal. Iunii was remembered at Durham, LVD, (SS, 13, [1841]), p. 143, although it is impossible to be sure that these references are to the archdeacon of that name.
65. *Quo tempore memoratum priorem Turgotum ante totius episcopatus populos produciens, vices suas etiam super illos ei iniunxit, ut scilicet per archidiaconatus officium Christianitatis curam per totum ageret episcopatum, ita statuens, ut quincunque illi successores fuerint in prioratu similiter succedant et in archidiaconatu.* Symeon, HDE, I, p. 129.
66. See, for example, F. Barlow, DJP, p. 6.
67. When recording Turgot's appointment as prior, Symeon described him as Aldwin's 'disciple'. *In cuius locum iure prioratus discipulum illius, videlicet Turgotum...*, Symeon, HDE, I, p. 127.
68. For the sources for Turgot's career, see references in note 23 above.
69. Rannulf Flambard's eagerness to expedite the promotion of Turgot to St Andrews was viewed as somewhat unseemly by Anselm. [Eadmer, HN, pp. 198-99; noted by Offler, 'Early Archdeacons', p. 196].
70. Craster, 'Contemporary Record', pp. 37-39.
71. The passage occurs in the *Historia Regum's* summary of the succession of the earls of Northumbria, HR, II, pp. 197-98. *Tertius vero sine comitatus honore habuit filium Uchtredum, cuius filius erat Eadulfus cognomento Rus, qui postea ducem se exhibuit eorum qui Walcherum episcopum occiderunt, ipseque dicitur sua illum interfecisse manu. Sed mox et ipse, a femina occisus, sepultus est in ecclesia apud Geddewerde, sed post a Turgoto, quondam priore Dunelmensis ecclesiae, et archidiacono, talis inde spurcitia proiecta.*
72. The 'Turgot group' of miracle stories was discussed by B. Colgrave, 'The Post-Bedan Miracles and Translations of St Cuthbert', pp. 327-332. The *miracula* concerning Turgot have been printed by T. Arnold, in SMO, II, pp. 335-359, and I, pp. 247-61. See Appendix C. pp. 422ff.
73. eg. SMO, II, pp. 350-2; pp. 353-6 and 361-2.
74. eg. SMO, II, pp. 341-3.
75. As well as maintaining discipline within the Convent, Turgot provided the Church of St Cuthbert with a great bell, cast in London, the haulage of which into Durham was the occasion for another demonstration of Cuthbert's power. SMO, II, pp. 356-9.
76. The miracles numbered by Colgrave, ('Post Bedan Miracles' pp. 314, 316-17), 11, 15, and 17 (SMO, II, pp. 343-4; 350-2 and 353-6).
77. SMO, II, pp. 343-44.

78. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 128.
79. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 128. One of the miracle stories referred to above concerned a journey which Turgot made to the royal court, SMO, II, pp. 341-3.
80. As has been seen, William of St Calais was a trusted servant of both William I and, except for the period of his exile, of Rufus. If he was, as Chaplais suggests, instrumental in the drafting of the Domesday Survey, then his knowledge of early Anglo-Norman chancery practice must have been extensive. See P. Chaplais, 'William of St Calais and the Domesday Survey' in Holt (ed.) *Domesday Studies*, pp. 65-77. Bishop William had also conducted the king's business at Rome and at the court of the King of France, see above cap. 4, p. 138.
81. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 122.
82. The forged foundation charters of the Church of Durham have been examined in detail by a succession of historians. Doubts concerning their authenticity were first raised by Rev W. Greenwell, who based his remarks on the work of a Dr O'Donnavan, FPD, (SS, 58, [1871]), Preface, pp. xxxi-lxxxi. G.V. Scammell devoted an appendix of his monograph on *Hugh du Puiset* to the forgeries and concluded that they were manufactured over a period of some thirty years during the pontificate of Bishop Hugh, (Appendix IV, 'A Note on the Forgeries relating to the Rights claimed by the Convent of Durham,' *Hugh du Puiset*, pp 300-307). Professor Offler, (DEC, [SS, 179, (1968)] nos. *3-*7), followed Scammell's conclusions with one or two emendations. The forgeries will be considered in more detail below, pp. 221ff.
83. A wholesale destruction of the Convent's muniments in the first half of the twelfth century seems unlikely especially as many other original documents survive from this period.
84. See, for example, the early charters for Newminster. Among the benefactors of this Cistercian house was Robert of Winchester, one of the episcopal barons of Durham. His grant of a fishery to the monks was confirmed by his lord, Bishop William of Ste Barbe, c. 1143-52. See Offler, DEC, no. 44, pp. 172-3 and *Chartularium Abbathiae de Novo Monasterio*, ed. J.T. Fowler, (SS, 66, 1878), p. 54.
85. Durham, DC, *Cartuarium Vetus* (CV), f. 13rv, Confirmation of the Convent's privileges by Calixtus II, [c.1119x24], printed PU, II, no.5; ff.13v-14v, Constitution for the Church of Durham by Honorius II, [1126], printed, PU, II, no. 11; ff. 15r-16v, Constitution of Eugenius III for Durham, printed, PU, II, no. 51.
86. The CV records Confirmations of the Convent's privileges from, Hadrian IV, [1157], (ff. 16v-18v, ptd. PU, II, no.94); Urban III, [1186], (ff. 18v-19r, ptd. PU, II, no.245); Urban III, Constitution for the Church of Durham, [1186], (ff. 19r-20v, ptd. PU, II, no. 238); Celestine III, [1196], (ff. 28v-33v, ptd. PU, II, no. 278); Innocent III, [1201], (ff. 31r-33v).
87. For example, the Confirmation by Celestine III, [1196], see above note. Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050-1250*,

pp. 211-14, dates the growth in appeals to Rome as beginning from around 1130.

88. Less than 10 per cent of the twelfth-century charters transcribed into the *Cartuarium Vetus*, compiled c. 1225 may be dated before c. 1143x52. See A.J. Piper, *Cartuarium Vetus; A Preliminary Guide*, (Durham, 1975). On a more general level, see M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, cap. 2, 'The Proliferation of documents', pp. 29-59. Clanchy, (see table, p.43) graphically illustrates the great increase in the chancery activity of the royal administration in the thirteenth century by citing the growing amounts of sealing wax used by the Chancery.

89. G.V. Scammell associated the beginnings of the Convent's counterfeiting activity with the deposition of Prior Thomas by Bishop Hugh. Scammell, 'A Note on the Forgeries Relating to the Rights claimed by the Convent of Durham', Appendix IV of *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 302.

90. See above, p. 194 note 6. The Farne Islands had been used as an eremitical retreat since Cuthbert's self-imposed solitude there. [Bede, VP, caps. XVII-XXII, in Colgrave, *Two Lives*, pp. 215-231]. During the course of the twelfth century several ascetics followed the saint's example the most famous of whom was Bartholomew (died c.1195). Cf. H.H.E. Craster, 'The Miracles of St Cuthbert at Farne', AB, 70, (1951), pp. 5-19; 'The Miracles of Farne', AA, 4th series, 29, (1951), pp. 93-107.

91. The forged charter, Durham, DC, 1.1. Pont, 2b stated that, ...[prior]...et nisi conventu omni volente et tunc pro certa et rationabili causa minime deponatur, [DEC, no. *3a, pp. 16-17]. The position of the prior was further strengthened in another spurious document, Durham, DC, 1.1. Pont. 3a, (DEC, no. *4, pp. 26-33), which makes no mention of his deposition from office at all.

92. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 124.

93. F. Barlow, DJP, p. 8.

94. A copy of Calixtus II's Confirmation of the privileges of the Convent (c.1119 x 1124) may be found in Durham DC, CV, f. 13r-v, [printed, PU, II, no. 51. For the state of the papacy at this time, see C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 162-4.

95. The *Ego Willelmus* forgery in London, British Museum, Cotton ms, Domitian A. vii, ff. 49-50. Printed, ed. J. Stevenson, LVD, (SS, 13, 1841), pp. 74-6. Cf. Offler, DEC, no. *3, pp. 6-15.

96. The properties listed by the *Ego Willelmus* forgery are; *Billingaham cum omnibus suis appendiciis...Aclea, cum suis appendiciis...villa nomine Cattun...Gyrwum et aquilonalem Wiramutham cum suis appendiciis...Reinvintun, duo Pittindunas, Haeseldene, Daltun, Maerintun, Scinneclif, AElvet...Ultra amnem Tina duas villas Wiflintun et Wallesende cum suis appendiciis...Lindisfarnensem...cum villa sibi adiacente nomine Fennum, et Norham...cum sua...villa nomine Scoreswurthin...in Snotinghamscire in Normantun...Bunningtun...Kynestan...Gatham...in Lincolnescire ...Bliburch*

...in civitate Eboraca ecclesiam sancte Trinitatis cum trium domorum... (DEC, pp. 7-8).

97. Symeon, HDE, I, pp. 120-1. Cf. Offler, DEC, no. *3, pp. 6-7, where the direct borrowings are italicised.

98. Offler, DEC, p. 9.

99. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 126-8.

100. For example, Rannulf Flambard signified his restitution of monastic lands in 1128 by placing his ring upon the High altar of the Church of St Cuthbert. He restored the estates ...*sancto Cuthberto et monachis eius super altare per unum anulum spontanea voluntate*..., Durham, DC, 2.1. Pont. 1, (printed, DEC, no. 24, pp. 107-8). Flambard's nephew, Osbert, granted the monks of Durham the church of Middleham and the charter recording this gift noted that the donation was made ...*super altare sancti Cuthberti per cultellum*..., Durham, DC, 3.12. Spec. 1. [DEC, no. 35a, pp. 139-140]. The knife signifying the grant has become detached from the charter. For a similar example of the use of a knife as an *aide memoire*, cf. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 127.

101. The monks' use of traditional methods of recording donations to their Church suggests that they were familiar with the practices of the *Congregatio*. It has been argued that many of the monks had, in fact, been members of the pre-1083 Community and, if this is the case, then the continued use of the charter-chronicle should not be surprising.

102. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 109.

103. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 112.

104. [Bishop Walcher]...*dedit eis ipsam villam Gyrvum cum suis appendiciis, scilicet Preostun, Munecatun, Heathewurthe, Heabyrm, Wivestou, Heortedun*..., Symeon, HDE, I, p. 110. Jarrow's dependent villas were Preston, Monkton, Hedworth, Hebburn, Westoe and Harton which all lie on the south bank of the Tyne in the parish of Jarrow. For an explanation of the term *appendicia* see Craster, 'Patrimony', p. 192 and above, cap. 1, p. 13.

105. Billingham had been granted to the Church of St Cuthbert by Bishop Ecgred (830-45). It was seized by the Northumbrian king AElla in 867 but recovered by the Church as Bishop Cutheard granted it to Alfred Brihtwulfing at the beginning of the tenth century. It seems to have been lost during Ragnald's division of the Patrimony in the 920s. (HSC, pp. 202, 208-9.). The estate presumably fell into royal hands after the West Saxon annexation of Northumbria. The Church of St Cuthbert showed great tenacity in seeking to recover an estate lost to it for a century and a half.

106. Symeon, HDE, I, pp. 108, 123. William I had restored the Billingham estate to St Cuthbert in 1072, and the grant of 1083 was probably made to remove any doubt as to the Convent's ownership.

107. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 125.

108. DOD, p. 215 and above, cap. 2, p.54 .
109. Writ of William Rufus, Durham, DC, 1.1. Reg. 17, (c. 1091x1094), (printed, Greenwell, FPD, pp. lxxxii-iii).
110. ...*quod ego [Willelmus episcopus] addita quadam villa nomine Cattun amplificavi, unam illius partem a Maldredo data sibi villa Winloctun cambiando, aliam vero ab Eadmundo Alstani filio pecunia emendo...*, (DEC, no. *3, p. 8; cf. Offler's notes, pp. 10-11). Cf. Cap. 6, pp.301-2
111. For a more detailed discussion of Rufus' writ, see D.J. Hall, 'The Community of St Cuthbert', Appendix, 'D. & C. Durham, 1.1. Reg. 17. A Charter of William II', pp. 226-31. An attempt to locate the boundaries of the elusive wapentake of Sadberge has been made by K. Emsley and C.M. Fraser; 'Durham and the wapentake of Sadberge', TAASDN, n.s. II, (1970), pp. 71-81.
112. ...*ut ibi xl⁺ mercatorum domos monachi ad usum proprium habeant, qui prorsus ab omni episcopi servitio sint liberi nisi forte maceries civitatis sit reparanda...*, DEC, *3, p. 8.
113. Offler, DEC, *3, p. 11.
114. Offler, DEC, *3, pp. 8, 13-14.
115. The Blyborough estate appears in Domesday as part of the Bishop of Durham's lands, (DB, i, f. 340b). The extant charters concerned with this property of the Church of Durham have been edited by Kathleen Major, 'Blyborough Charters' in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, eds. P.M. Barnes, C.F. Slade, (PRSoc., ns 36, [1962]). The fact that the Nottinghamshire lands do not appear in Domesday adds to the weight of evidence pronouncing the *Ego Willelmus* charter to be a forgery.
116. Symeon remarked that Rufus treated other monasteries harshly, whereas he was generous to the Church of St Cuthbert. *Licet enim in alia monasteria et ecclesias ferocius ageret, ipsis tamen non solum nihil auferebat, sed etiam de suo dabat, et ab iniuriis malignorum sicut pater defendebat.* Symeon, HDE, I, p. 128.
117. The RBD, (p. 529) recorded that Howdenshire and Weltonshire in Yorkshire had been granted to Bishop William of St Calais by William I. This is substantiated by Domesday Book, (DB, i, ff. 304c-d).
118. EYC, II, 315.
119. The forged charter *Venerabilibus patribus*, Durham, DC, 1.1. Pont. 1a, (printed DEC, *7, pp. 53-58), purports to be a grant by Bishop William of St Calais but, amongst other characteristics militating against its authenticity, it bears a false seal. The composition of the forgery has been dated to c. 1190-95. See Offler, DEC, pp. 59-63.
120. See fig.5.4.

121. G.V. Scammell, 'A Note on the Forgeries relating to the Rights claimed by the Convent of Durham', Appendix IV to *Hugh du Puiset*, pp. 300-307.
122. Durham, DC, 3.1. Reg. 16, [1204]; printed Greenwell, FPD, pp. 94-97.
123. Prior Turgot's pre-eminence in the bishopric was a source of some concern to Bishop Rannulf, and, as soon as he was able, he began to dismantle the Convent's privilege position. See below, pp. 234-5
124. Compare the listing of the Convent's estates in the earliest of the Durham forgeries, (the *Ego Willelmus* charter copied in the *Liber Vitae*), with John's confirmation of 1204. See Appendix B.
125. Scammell, 'A Note on the Forgeries', pp. 305-7.
126. The main Durham forgeries are listed by Rev W. Greenwell in FPD, Preface, pp. xxxviii-lxxx1. Scammell noted a number of other spurious documents which were derived from this corpus, notably the purported bull *Sacrosancta* of Gregory VII, ('A Note on the Forgeries', p. 304 and n.2).
127. Symeon, HDE, Lib. IV, cap. x, pp. 132-35. William of St Calais' death was foreseen in a vision by a certain knight, Boso. (Symeon, HDE, I, pp. 130-32). During excavations on the site of the Chapter-house in 1874, several graves were discovered. Three of these were marked by grave covers inscribed with the names of Rannulf Flambard, Geoffrey-Rufus and William of Ste Barbe, and contained skeletons together with artefacts such as episcopal rings. It was not possible, however, to locate the remains of William of St Calais. Rev J.T. Fowler, 'An Account of Excavations made on the site of the Chapter-house of Durham Cathedral in 1874', *Archaeologia*, vol. 45, ii, pp. 385-404.
128. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 134.
129. Marjorie Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work; A Problem in Anglo-Norman History', JEH, xviii, (1967), pp. 165-72, considers the practical implications for the parish of monastic possession of local churches.
130. F. Barlow, DJP, cap. 1, 'The Durham Franchise', pp. 1-52.
131. Symeon recorded that, during the vacancy of 1096-99, Rannulf Flambard, as the king's agent extracted £300 p.a. from the bishopric. (Symeon, HDE, I, p. 135). There are no Domesday figures for the value of the episcopal estates of Durham, but Professor Barlow, using figures from the only surviving Pipe Roll from Henry I's reign, has estimated that, in 1128-30 the farm of the bishopric was £649 p.a., and he concludes from this that Rufus' exactions were hardly oppressive. However, there is no information as to how much of the revenues of the see Flambard diverted into his own coffers. F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 237-38.
132. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record', no. III, p. 38.
133. Craster, 'Patrimony', p. 181.
134. See below, cap. 7, pp. 338-42

135. See above, cap. 2, pp. 28-9
136. R.B. Dobson, 'The Last English Monks on Scottish Soil: the Severance of Coldingham Priory from the Monastery of Durham, 1461-78', *SHR*, XLVI, (1967), pp. 1-25.
137. Flambard's career in the royal administration has been examined in detail by Sir Richard Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration', *TRHS*, (1933), revised in *Medieval Humanism*, (1970), pp. 183-205. [Page references are to the revised article.] Professor Offler concentrated upon Flambard's career in Durham in, 'Rannulf Flambard as Bishop of Durham, 1099-1128', *DUJ*, (1971), pp. 14-25.
138. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard', p. 191.
139. Craster, 'Contemporary Record', no. IX, pp. 41-42.
140. See below, cap. 6, pp. 278-83 Rannulf's various acquisitions are enumerated by Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard', pp. 187-192.
141. Symeon, *HDE*, I, p. 135 and see above, note 131.
142. Symeon, *HDE*, I, p. 107.
143. Jean Scammell, 'The Origins and Limitations of the Liberty of Durham', *BHR*, LXXXI, (1966), pp. 449-73, and below, cap. 8.
144. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard', p. 205.
145. Robert Surtees, for example, saw Flambard as the 'willing instrument of the exactions and oppressions of the monarch', *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol. I, part 1, p. xix.
146. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard', p. 186.
147. Symeon, *HDE*, I, pp. 26-27 on Cuthbert's merits as Bishop of Lindisfarne. Cf. Symeon's description of William of St Calais' qualities, *HDE*, I, p. 125.
148. Most notably, Sexhelm, (Symeon, *HDE*, I, p. 77), and Eadred, (*HDE*, I, p. 91).
149. Professor Offler, in particular, believed that, relatively speaking, Flambard's exactions from the monks were light. (*DEC*, p. 110, 'We can hardly infer from Rannulf's charter of restitution that he had been grievously oppressing his monks.').
150. Rannulf Flambard's relationship with Henry I has been interpreted in a number of ways. It has been suggested, for instance, that Flambard acted as Henry's agent in Normandy and that the demise of Robert Curthose was engineered by the Bishop of Durham. Professor Hollister has argued against this thesis preferring to believe that Rannulf manipulated Curthose's invasion of England in 1101 in order to secure the restoration of the lands

which Henry had confiscated. (C. Warren Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War; 1101', EHR, 88, (1973), pp. 315-34, reprinted in *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World*, pp. 77-96. Page references are to the latter.) When Flambard returned to Normandy after the treaty of Alton, it was not in order to act as Henry I's spy, but, rather, to pursue personal ambitions in the diocese of Lisieux. Hollister, in company with the majority of historians writing of Robert Curthose, sees the Duke as the victim of the machinations of others. For example, Hollister argues that Robert's military strategy only became effective when Flambard appeared on the scene. ('Anglo-Norman Civil War', p. 86.) There is obvious incongruity here as Robert was a highly successful crusader returning in triumph from the First Crusade, and the idea that he could be so easily manipulated sits ill with his record of achievement in Palestine. A reconsideration of the career of the Conqueror's eldest surviving son which takes into account this contrast in his fortunes is needed. C.W. David's biography tends to follow the conventional view of Robert's life citing, as a clear demonstration of his unsuitability for government, his failure on two occasions to secure the throne of England. (C.W. David, *Robert Curthose*, especially at p. 137, where David sums up Robert's failure of 1101, 'Robert had undertaken a task which was beyond his power and his resources...').

151. Geoffrey of Coldingham, HDST, p. 8.

152. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Rannulf Flambard', AA⁴, (1930), pp. 33-56.

153. Craster, 'Contemporary Record', no. XIX, p. 49.

154. Craster, 'Contemporary Record', nos. XV, XVII, XX, XXI.

155. Offler, DEC, nos. 9-26, (*10 is regarded as spurious by Professor Offler).

156. Durham, DC, 2.1. Pont. 1, printed DEC, no. 24, pp. 107-108.

157. Henry I's confirmation of Rannulf's charter is Durham, DC, 2.1. Reg. 12, printed FPD, p. 145n.

158. William I, for example, donated a gold mark and a precious pallium to St Cuthbert on his visit to Durham in 1072. Craster, RBD, p. 528.

159. Offler, DEC, no. 24, pp. 107-8.

160. Offler, DEC, p. 111.

161. *Igitur monachis suas officinas aedificantibus, suis episcopus sumptibus ecclesiae opus faciebat.* Symeon, HDE, I, p. 129. It is possible that Flambard appropriated the funds in order to finance emergency repairs after the collapse of the vaulting at the east end of the church. M.G. Snape, 'Documentary evidence for the building of Durham Cathedral and its Monastic Buildings', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Transactions for 1977, eds. N. Coldstream and P. Draper. [Leeds, 1980].

162. Flambard diverted substantial amounts of the revenues extracted from the see of Durham into the royal coffers, and there is evidence that the restoration of Flambard's lands in 1101 was expensive for the Bishop. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record', no. XXIV, writ of Henry I to Osbern the sheriff et al., 'I order you not to receive into your land any men of Rannulf, Bishop of Durham, nor the money of those who flee out of his land *because of the money which the Bishop gives me.*' [My italics].

163. For a detailed examination of Flambard's family in the bishopric of Durham, see below, cap. 6. pp. 278-83

164. Flambard's grant of Blakiston, together with Eighton and Ravensworth survives as The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Ravensworth Deed no. 1. (DEC, no. 23, pp. 100-101). Henry I's confirmation of Bishop Rannulf's restitution of lands to the Convent is Durham, DC, 2.1. Reg. 12, (printed FPD, p.145n).

165. '...Henricus et Willelmus cognomento Havegrim utrique archdiaconi...' appear in Reginald of Durham's account of the 1104 Translation of St Cuthbert, (Libellus, p. 84); Offler, 'Early Archdeacons', pp. 194-5.

166. Offler, 'Early Archdeacons', pp. 199-204.

167. Symeon, HDE, I, pp. 144-45.

168. SMO, I, p. 260. *Iam dies in altum processerat, et episcopus, multa quae praesentis negotii non postulaverat causa interserens, longioris multos sermonis fecerat taedere. Sed cum tanta esset caeli serenitas ut nullum venturae pluviae signum in aere appareret, tanta coeperunt inundatione subito imbres ruere, ut confestim interrupto sermone loculum sancti corporis fratres corripere, et ecclesiae concite inferre festinarent...*

169. SMO, II, pp. 361-62.

170. See Dorothy M. Meades, 'The Hospital of St Giles at Kepier near Durham', TAASDN, ns. I, (1968), pp. 45-58.

171. Offler, 'Rannulf Flambard as Bishop of Durham', p. 17; DEC, no. 9, pp. 64-67, [St Giles' church]; Durham DC, 2.1. Pont. 8, DEC, no. #10, pp. 68-72, [Godric of Finchale]; William of Corbeil appears in the witness list to the spurious charter, 2.1. Pont. 8 although there is no reason to doubt his presence in Flambard's entourage. The evidence that William, later elevated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was tutor to Flambard's sons was examined by T.A. Archer, 'Ranulf Flambard and his sons', EHR, ii, (1887), pp. 103-112.

172. Archbishop Thurstan received his priestly orders from Flambard at Bayeux in 1115 so as to avoid compromising York's position through ordination by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (See Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson, [revised by M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke and M. Winterbottom], pp. 61-3. Cf. D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York, 1114-1140*, pp. 49-51.

173. For example, both Southern and Offler mention the stories of Christina of Markyate and the visit of the papal legate, John of Crema. (Southern, 'Rannulf Flambard', p. 203; Offler, 'Rannulf Flambard as Bishop of Durham', p. 22.)
174. ed. and trans. C.H. Talbot, *The Life of Christina of Markyate*, (Oxford, 1959)
175. The Annals of Winchester, *Annales Monastici*, (RS), II, pp. 47-8; D. Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p. 94 describes the incident in full.
176. Symeon, HDE, Cont. Prima, p. 140.
177. *Laurentii Dunelmensis Monachi Dialogi*, ed. J. Raine, (SS, 70, [1878]), p. 22, cited by Southern, 'Rannulf Flambard', p. 204.
178. The Confirmation of the monks' lands by Calixtus II, c. 1119-24, Durham, DC, CV, ff.13r-v, PU, II, no. 5.
179. Symeon, HDE, Cont. Prima, p. 141.
180. The situation of Durham during the Anarchy has been examined by A. Young, *William Cumin: Border Politics and the Bishopric of Durham, 1141-44*, (University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research Papers, no. 54). See below, cap. 7, pp. 353-8
181. Cocken, (par. Houghton-le-Spring), Durham, DC, 4.1. Pont. 16, [ptd. J. Raine, *Priory of Finchale*, no. xciv, p. 86; DEC, no. 28, pp. 119-121]. On Eilaf II, see above, cap. 4, and W.H.D. Longstaffe, 'The hereditary sacerdotage of Hexham', AA², 4, (1860), pp. 19ff. Wolviston, (par. Billingham), Durham, DC, 4.1. Pont. 15, [ptd. FPD, p. 140n; DEC, no. 29, pp. 122-124.] On Roger of Kibblesworth, see Offler, DEC, p. 123. In 1185 Roger de Kibblesworth, *filius Cliberti de Hettun* returned to St Cuthbert and his monks *terram meam de Wluestone, quam antecessores mei et ego de eis in drengagio tenuimus...*, (Durham, DC, 4.9. Spec. 30; ptd. FPD, pp. 141-2nn). Roger represents those members of local Northumbrian families who managed to retain prominent positions within the honorial baronage of Durham. See below, cap. 6, pp. 297-301
182. See below, cap. 7, pp. 353-8
183. See Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, cap. LXXV, pp. 154-57.
184. Scammell, HDP, pp. 12-21.
185. See, for example, D. Knowles, 'The Case of St William of York', CHJ, V, (1936), pp. 162-77, 212-4.
186. Newminster, (Durham, DC, 1.2. Pont. 3; ptd. FPD, p. lxiv, DEC, no. 38, pp. 155-58. Bishop William grants the monks of Newminster pasture and other rights in episcopal forests. [1148]; *Chartularium...de Novo Monasterio*, ed Fowler, p. 54; DEC, no. 44, pp. 172-3. Bishop William confirms the gift of salt works made to the monks of Newminster by Robert of Winchester and his wife Alice Bertram.) Rievaulx, (*Cartularium...Rievalle*, ed. J.C. Atkinson,

(SS, 83, 1889), no. 52, p. 28; DEC, no. 45, pp. 173-4. Bishop William confirms an agreement made between the monks of Rievaulx and Ansketill of Worcester concerning East Cowton, Yorks. DEC, no. 46b, p. 175, Bishop William grants land in Crosby, Allertonshire, to the monks of Rievaulx.) Guisborough, (DEC, no. 46d, p. 176. Bishop William grants the chapel of Trimdon to the canons of Guisborough).

187. Later the Convent was able to thwart an attempt by Hugh du Puiset's son, Henry, to establish a cell of Guisborough at Baxterwood (Co. Durham), Scammell, HDP, pp. 123, 208.

188. The notification of the agreement survives in two originals, Durham DC, 1.1. Archid. 1a and 1b. (ptd. DEC, no. 36, pp. 142-47). A declaration by the members of the tribunal concerning the case survives as Durham, DC, 1.1. Archid. Dunelm. 2, (ptd. DEC, no. 36a, pp. 147-51).

189. On Ailred's family, see ed. F.M. Powicke, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx* by Walter Daniel, (1950), p. xxxv, and references cited above, note 180.

190. DEC, p. 143.

191. See above, pp. 221-4 and notes.

192. Geoffrey of Coldingham, HDST, p. 4; Scammell, HDP, pp. 12ff.

193. Geoffrey of Coldingham, HDST, p. 6.

194. Scammell, HDP, p. 19.

195. See above, pp. 221-4

196. Durham, DC, 3.1. Pont. 2, (ptd. Scammell, HDP, Appendix II, no. 8, pp. 259-60); Durham, DC, 3.1. Pont. 1, (ptd. Scammell, HDP, Appendix II, no. 10, pp. 261-63.

Chapter 6.

R. dei gratia Dunelmensis ecclesie episcopus...omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis de Haliarefolc salutem. The establishment and development of the honorial baronage of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert during the period, 1071-1152.

The Bishops of Durham appointed by the Norman kings were not only the heirs to the spiritual traditions of the Church of St Cuthbert, they were also the successors to an agglomeration of estates which constituted one of the great ecclesiastical honours of Anglo-Norman England. (1) By the beginning of the episcopate of Hugh du Puiset these lands had been apportioned to a number of individuals who came to be known as the *barones et fideles sancti Cuthberti* (2). These tenants-in-chief of the ecclesiastical honour of Durham, the location of their estates and the service which they owed the Bishops of Durham, are the subject of the following chapter. Who were these barons of St Cuthbert and what factors influenced their acquisition of portions of the saint's Patrimony? The aim is to produce an outline history of the Norman settlement of the bishopric of Durham before 1150, and to discover whether this settlement was the result of a sudden and, from the point of view of the native aristocracy, catastrophic tenurial revolution, or whether it discloses a more gradual replacement of the English landowners by Frenchmen.

It is usual to begin studies of this kind with an evaluation of the evidence for landholding provided by the Domesday Survey of 1086. (3) Unfortunately, this source is unavailable for historians of the modern counties of Durham and Northumberland. The Commissioners sent out by William I failed to extend their enquiries beyond the river Tees, leaving the heart of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert a frustrating blank on the map of Domesday England. (4) It is not clear why the bishopric of Durham should have been spared the thorough investigation conducted throughout the rest of England by William I's agents, although the

explanation may lie in the fact that the land to the north of the river Tees had remained unshired during the Anglo-Saxon period (5). Whatever the reason for the absence of the Domesday evidence, it is necessary to turn to other sources in order to sketch in the features of a tenurial map of twelfth-century Durham.

The *carta* returned by Bishop Hugh du Puiset in reponse to the 1166 enquiry initiated by Henry II provides a list of the names of those who held by knight service from St Cuthbert, but records nothing about where the estates which they held lay (6). In the early thirteenth century King John called upon the tenants of the bishopric of Durham to provide troops or, failing that, financial help towards an unspecified military expedition (7). The guardians of the vacant see empanelled members of the local baronage and called upon them to provide the names of those who held by military service, the location of their estates and the service due. The compilers of the returns recorded whether or not the named individuals had attended the king in person or whether they had provided for proxies to go in their stead. Against the names of those who failed to answer the muster pecuniary fines were noted, presumably representing the amount of scutage imposed on each tenant. The returns listed not only those holding by knight service, but also other forms of military tenure such as *de theynagiis et sergantiis* (8).

Further clues as to the location of baronial estates may be gathered from a roll-call of Durham knights who took part in the battle of Lewes in 1264 between the forces of Simon de Montfort and Henry III (9). The list also named those who had remained on their estates in the North of England. In each case the scribe noted the main estate of the individual in question (10). Thus there is information available on the

major tenants of the Honour of St Cuthbert at three dates; 1166, 1208-10 and 1264. These provide a base from which to attempt a reconstruction of the tenurial profile of the Bishopric of Durham in the first half of the twelfth century.

One source which, by its reputation, would seem to offer valuable evidence of landholding in the bishopric proves, on closer inspection, to be disappointing. In 1183;

Lord Hugh, Bishop of Durham caused to be written down in his and his men's presence all the returns of his whole bishopric, fixed rents and customs as they were then and had been before (11).

Since Sir Henry Ellis published the text of Bishop Hugh's survey as an appendix to his edition of Domesday in 1816, *Boldon Book*, as it became known, has been misrepresented as 'Durham's Domesday' (12). In fact it is a customal recording the labour and money dues owed to the Bishop by the tenants of each of his estates within the modern counties of Durham and Northumberland (13). As a description of the duties incumbent upon the peasant communities of the North-East of England it is invaluable, providing evidence of the survival of ancient Anglian land divisions and tenurial obligations well into the post-Conquest period (14). However, *Boldon Book* does not include, for the most part, the military tenants of the bishopric, and so its use, for the present purpose is limited (15).

Although it is probable that du Puiset's successors as Bishop conducted surveys of the episcopal lands, none of these have survived from any earlier than the late fourteenth century. Between 1377 and 1380 a thorough investigation of the bishopric was conducted under the auspices of Thomas de Hatfield (1345-1381). *Hatfield's Survey* (16)

contains a full list of the tenants of the episcopal estates and enumerates the services belonging to each manor. This document may be used to check certain details in the earlier *Boldon Book*, but it is, in general, too late to greatly assist the present investigation (17).

The bishopric of Durham usually stood outwith the purview of the royal administration and it was, therefore, only when the see was vacant (18) and in the king's hands that it appears in the records of central government. Fortunately, the earliest surviving Pipe Roll, that of 31 Henry I, was produced in the middle of the five-year vacancy (1128-1133) which followed the death of Bishop Rannulf Flambard (19). The Pipe Roll provides valuable information regarding the potential wealth of the see and names a number of the local baronage, one of whom, *Gaufrid Escolland*, was called to account for the farm of the bishopric (20).

Among the most important sources of information for the feudal settlement of the bishopric of Durham are the charters and cartularies preserved among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral (21). The monks of St Cuthbert, like their fellows in religious houses elsewhere in twelfth-century Britain, assiduously preserved and copied documents recording gifts to their church (22). The charters and cartularies of the Convent provide material which, at least in part, enables us to fill in the gaps left by the sources outlined above. Authentic *cartae* are, unfortunately, comparatively rare for the first half of the twelfth century and the *Cartuarium Vetus* (23), the oldest of the Durham cartularies was not produced until around 1230. Private and episcopal charters became more plentiful during the latter half of the twelfth century, a period corresponding almost exactly with

the greater diplomatic activity during the pontificate of Hugh du Puiset.

In addition, the first half of the twelfth century saw the foundation of a number of religious houses in the North of England (24). Prominent members of the baronial aristocracy of Yorkshire and Northumberland established houses of the reformed monastic orders and canons regular. The cartularies of the Cistercian abbeys of Rievaulx, Fountains, Newminster and Guisborough, together with those of the Premonstratensian and Austin priories at Alnwick, Blanchland and Brinkburn, provide evidence of pious donations made by the barons of the Honour of Durham being directed towards religious institutions other than the Church of St Cuthbert (25). The making of a pious donation to a particular religious foundation was not only a demonstration of spiritual devotion, it also revealed ties between the donor and the patron of the monastery or priory in question. These acts of almsgiving provided one of several links which joined the baronage of Durham to the wider feudal society of the North of England.

The boundaries of the ecclesiastical honour of Durham were not coterminous with those of the bishopric. Pockets of royal land within the heart of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert were occupied by a number of powerful baronial families holding their estates directly from the King. To the east of Durham lay the Brus fee centred on Hart and Hartness (26), whilst to the south-west the Balliol family had the *caput* of their estates at Castle Barnard (27). As well as owning the mines of Weardale, the crown, through its overlordship of the wapentake of Sadberge (28), also possessed a considerable portion of southern County Durham. These royal enclaves were the target of episcopal ambition and

by the end of the twelfth century Hugh du Puiset had managed to acquire some of these crown holdings, most notably when he purchased the wapentake from Richard I in 1189 (29).

Beyond the river Tyne lay St Cuthbert's estates in Norhamshire and Islandshire. Norham lies on the Tweed and it, together with its dependent settlements formed one of the oldest possessions of the Church of St Cuthbert. Islandshire consisted of Lindisfarne and its mainland appendages. Further south between the Wansbeck and the Blyth lay Bedlington and its shire (30).

Separating these northern outliers from the rest of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert lay Northumberland. Before the revolt of Robert de Mowbray in 1095 (31), the earl of Northumberland was, by far, the most powerful of the Bishop of Durham's neighbours. There is evidence that relations between these two northern magnates were often strained, and the settlement of one particular dispute over a number of vills in the south of County Durham has already been noted (32). After William Rufus' suppression of the earldom following de Mowbray's defeat, the estates between the rivers Tyne and Tweed were apportioned to a number of families. The creation of the majority of these Northumbrian baronies seems to have been the work of Henry I in the early decades of the twelfth century (33). Their establishment served two purposes. These estates provided rewards for Henry's followers, especially that group of his supporters who have become known as his 'new men' (34). Secondly, by dismembering the vast earldom the Norman kings lessened the possibility of one magnate acquiring a substantial powerbase in the remote North of the kingdom from which to threaten the government in the south (35). It might be argued that the defence of the Border at a time when David I,

Henry's protege, was king of Scotland, was not a primary consideration in the establishment of these northern baronies (36).

Bishop Hugh's *carta* returned to Henry II in 1166 divides the list of those who held by knight service into three sections classified according to whether the fees lay in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire or in *dominio beati Cuthberti* (37). The last of these divisions grouped together those who held within the areas bounded by the rivers Tyne and Tees and those whose fees lay in North Durham, that is Islandshire, Norham and Bedlingtonshire. The Bishop of Durham's estates in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire have been examined in detail in other studies and it is the intention here to focus upon those tenants who held within the domain of St Cuthbert (38).

The Bishop of Durham's fee was assessed as owing the service of ten knights. For an ecclesiastical honour of this size this was an exceptionally light *servitium debitum* and the excess enfeoffment on the Bishop's estates amounted to over sixty knights' fees (39). The 1166 *carta* records the names of thirty-one individuals holding by knight service in the land between the Tyne and the Tees and in North Durham. The quantity of service owed by the members of this group ranged from that of five knights to that of a fractional fee held for a tenth part of a knight's service (40). In total the tenants of *Haliwerfolc* and North Durham owed the service of 44 and 13/15 knights. The majority of those named held estates for which they owed the service of one knight or more (41). It is possible to classify the tenants of St Cuthbert according to the quantity of knight-service which they owed. Three nearly equal divisions emerge when the group as a whole is categorised into those who owe the service of more than one knight, those who owe

the service of a single knight and, finally, those who held land for a fraction of a knight's service. Fractions occur other than in the last of these groups. For example, the tenant of one estate owed the service of 'two and two parts of a knight' [*ii et ii partis [sic] unius*], and another the service of one and a half knights (42).

In the first of these groups, Division I, ten individuals owe the service of thirty knights, or two thirds of the total knight-service owed by the tenants of the domain of St Cuthbert (43). Eleven individuals make up the second division, each owing the service of a single knight, about 25 per cent of the total (44). Division III represents those who held land for a fraction of a knight's service, an obligation probably acquitted by a money payment. A group of ten tenants owed the service of three and thirteen fifteenths of a knight, or about nine per cent of the total (45).

There is clearly a concentration at the top here in that two thirds of the total knight service due to the bishop from his lands in *Haliwerfolc* and North Durham was owed by only one third of his tenants, that is by the members of Division I. Within this group itself a further tenurial hierarchy is discernible. Two individuals, Robert de Amundeville and the son of Bertram de Bulmer held estates for which they owed the service of five knights each and together they were responsible for a third of the total service rendered by Division I. Four tenants, Roger de Conyers, William de Vescy, William fitz Osbert and Roman de *Heltone*, held fees owing three knight's service or 40 per cent of the total. Finally, Thomas fitz William, Elias Escolland, Roger de Audrey and Geoffrey fitz Richard owed the service of one and a half knights or more, about 27 per cent of the total.

Compared with the tenants of other large secular or ecclesiastical honours, these greater barons of the bishopric of Durham were men of relatively modest means, assuming, that is, that the quantity of knight service required from them corresponded in some direct way to the amount of land which they held (46). Nevertheless, this first group does seem to incorporate the baronial elite of Durham and theirs are the names which occur most frequently among the witness lists to the episcopal and private charters surviving from the twelfth century. None of these larger fees was held *de novo* in 1166, indicating that these families had acquired their lands before the death of Henry I in 1135 (47). There are relatively few *de novo* enfeoffments recorded in the 1166 *carta* implying that the main tenorial features of the bishopric of Durham had been established almost two decades before Hugh du Puiset's appointment in 1153. Gradually, as G.V. Scammell has shown (48), Bishop Hugh used his powers of patronage to advance certain individuals within the feudal society of late twelfth-century Durham. It is noticeable, however, that charters drawn up at the end of the century still contain, in their witness lists representatives of families who first appear in the records of the bishopric during Rannulf Flambard's pontificate (49).

Below this elite group were the tenants who held land for the service of a single knight. There were two *de novo* creations by Bishop Hugh suggesting that it was easier to introduce newcomers at this level rather than amongst the ranks of the greater barons. It has been suggested that those who owed the service of a single knight were, themselves, 'knights' (50). The capacity to furnish a fully armed mounted warrior did not, however, necessarily directly relate to the size of the fee held. The returns to King John's inquiry in 1208-10

noted that holders of fractional fees managed to provide at least one knight for the royal army. For example, both William of Heaton who held half a knight's fee in Northhamshire and his near neighbour, Jordan Ridel, who also held half a knight's fee joined John's army (51).

Finally, the third division contains the greatest number of *de novo* enfeoffments (52). Here the tenants occupied parcels of land for which they owed fractions of a knight's service and presumably acquitted their obligations by means of a money payment. These fractional fees represent successive divisions of an estate to which a quantity of knight service had been attached (53). The obligation, fixed in the land, devolved to successive tenants of the estate and as that estate was dismembered so the quantity of service due was divided reflecting each partition. One of the most common mechanisms by which fees were divided was that accompanying inheritance by co-heiresses. At the end of the twelfth century, for example, the Papedy fee in North Durham which owed the service of one knight was apportioned equally between the heiresses Wimarc and Matilda. Consequently their husbands, Roger de Audrey and Ingeram de Ulecotes each held half the original estate for the service of half a knight (54). However, these fractional fees represent only a small proportion of the total service owed by the tenants of *Haliwerfolc* and North Durham and their creation did not greatly alter the feudal profile of twelfth-century Durham.

There was not a great difference between the majority of the barons of St Cuthbert in the amount of knight service which they owed the Bishop. However, as the above analysis indicates there were certain tenants who seem to have been part of a baronial elite, responsible for

the greater part of the *servitium debitum* attached to the fees of the domain of St Cuthbert.

The Bishops of Durham also categorised their tenants. The episcopal *acta* surviving from the first half of the twelfth century, where they make any distinction at all, usually address *omnibus baronibus suis et hominibus...francis et anglis* (55). The barons thus stand apart from the other members of the laity of the bishopric. There is no indication, however, as to the attributes a baron should possess. The problem of the status of members of the honorial baronage was investigated by Sir Frank Stenton in his collection of Ford Lectures, *The First Century of English Feudalism* (56). For the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, Stenton concluded that barons were '...the leading tenants on the honours to which they belonged, men who individually owed to their lords more than the service of a single knight.' (57) By this definition only the first group of those mentioned in the 1166 *carta* of Bishop Hugh would qualify. Stenton later modified his statement to include all those who held in chief from the lord of the honour. It is now more generally accepted that the key element in an individual's status within the society of a feudal honour was not so much the quantity of knight service which he owed, but rather his relationship with the lord (58). In this respect baronial status was dependent upon the personal connection between lord and vassal. Thus men of comparatively modest means, judging by the amount of knight service which they rendered, might share the confidence of their lord with the great magnates of the honour (59).

The best guide to the status of individuals within an honour is the place which they occupy in the hierarchy of charter witness lists. For example, Bishop Rannulf established his *nepos* Osbert in the bishopric, granting him the episcopal manor of Middleham and appointing him sheriff (60). Osbert's close ties with the Bishop are usually, but not always, indicated by his pre-eminent position in the witness lists to the charters of Flambard and his successors (61). This might also explain why household officers, especially chamberlains, tend to appear fairly well up the attestational hierarchy (62). In conclusion one might slightly adapt Stenton's phrase; the individuals mentioned in the episcopal charters of twelfth-century Durham were barons because it pleased the Bishop to treat them as such (63).

The 1166 *carta* is not a comprehensive guide to the tenants of the Honour of St Cuthbert in the mid twelfth century. The episcopal and private charters mention many more individuals not recorded in Bishop Hugh's return. These men might have held by other than military service or were, perhaps, the tenants of those mentioned in 1166. Alternatively their tenancies may have reverted to the Bishop if they had died without heirs before the inquiry was made. There is, however, enough correlation between the *carta* and the evidence from the other sources for a reconstruction of the feudal society of twelfth-century Durham to be attempted.

When and how did the families of those mentioned in the *carta* of 1166 acquire their tenancies of the bishopric? It is in trying to answer these questions that the absence of the Domesday evidence is most keenly felt. William I's commissioners asked who held the land in King Edward's day and who held it at the time of the Survey. Thus it is

possible to determine whether or not there was some continuity in the patterns of landholding before and after the arrival of the Normans in a particular district, and whether there was any rationale behind the redistribution of the lands of the defeated Anglo-Saxon lords (64). In the bishopric of Durham, however, references to tenants of the Patrimony from before 1100 are scarce indeed.

This lack of evidence for landholding in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert from the first decades of the Norman presence in the North-East of England can be interpreted in two ways. The absence of Domesday may conceal a significant Norman settlement dating from the episcopates of Walcher and William of St Calais. In this case the individuals who first appear in the episcopal *acta* of Bishop Rannulf represent families whose connection with the bishopric of Durham went back a generation at least. On the other hand, there may have been no significant settlement of the bishopric by Norman families before 1100. Therefore, the Norman families which make their first appearance in the records of Flambard's episcopate were relative newcomers to the North-East of England and, for some reason, they had been reluctant to settle in the area any earlier.

The murder of Bishop Walcher and the massacre of his retinue at Gateshead in 1080 underlined the precarious nature of the Norman presence in the North-East of England during the reign of William I (65). The first attempt to impose Norman government upon the bishopric of Durham ended with the slaughter of earl Robert Cumin and his troops in 1069 and the subsequent punitive expedition of the Conqueror's army to the North-East (66). William I relied on native earls, such as Waltheof (67), to maintain order in the region and provide protection against the Scots. After the execution of Waltheof the earldom of

Northumbria was entrusted to Bishop Walcher. As has been seen, Walcher's regime depended upon the co-operation of native magnates such as Ligulf (68). The Bishop's kinsman, Gilbert, seems to have been given some responsibility for the land to the north of the Tyne but his high-handed treatment of the native population precipitated protests and eventually contributed to the breakdown of Walcher's government (69).

In addition to the internal instability in Northumbria during the Conqueror's reign, there was the constant threat of invasion by Malcolm III of Scotland. Until his death in 1093 the bishopric suffered periodic attacks despite William I's attempts to rein in the Scottish king's ambitions (70). The impression given in the sources of Walcher's episcopate suggests that the North-East of England was a region destabilised by a powerful and independently-minded native aristocracy and that the problems were compounded by the threat to the security of the area posed by the Scots. In these circumstances the widespread settlement of substantial numbers of Norman families would seem unlikely.

There are only a few brief notices of individual Normans in the area before 1100. Earl Robert de Mowbray carried the Norman offensive into Northumberland with a great measure of success and one of the earliest of the Northumbrian baronies was established at Callerton for his vassal, Hubert de la Val (71). Apart from this, it might be assumed that the early Norman bishops of Durham relied heavily upon a large contingent of household troops for their protection and to provide the garrison for Durham castle. Bishop William of St Calais had a retinue of at least seven hundred men according to the author of the tract, *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi episopi* (72). This account of his trial at

the king's court in 1088 mentions that Bishop William was especially wont to consult with seven of his knights (73). Although this small group may represent baronial counsellors and possibly even the ancestors of those families prominent in the twelfth century, it seems more than likely that they were simply trusted members of the Bishop's household retinue.

Copies of a charter ascribed to Edgar of Scotland include the names of several individuals who may have been among the earliest French settlers in the bishopric (74). If genuine, Edgar's charter dates from 1095 and grants Berwickshire and Coldinghamshire to St Cuthbert, the Bishop of Durham and the monks (75). According to the attestational clause Edgar's gift was made in the presence of, amongst others, Robert de Humet, Ilger de Cornforth, Walter de Valonis, Geoffrey de Aldreio, William fitz Almodi and John of Amundeville. These men, together with the others mentioned may have formed the core of Bishop William of St Calais' retinue. The families of Humet, Amundeville and Audrey [Aldreio] are known to have been prominent amongst the ranks of the baronage of the bishopric (76). Ilger of Cornforth appears as a witness to a charter of Bishop Rannulf and may have been the tenant of the manor of Middleham before it was granted by Flambard to his *nepos*, Osbert (77).

The authenticity of Edgar's charter has been questioned, most recently by Mr Joseph Donnelly who suggests that the diploma was produced in connection with Edward I's policies in Scotland at the end of the thirteenth century (78). Nevertheless, like many forged documents it might preserve authentic details in its witness list. If this is the case then it seems that the first of the Norman baronial families who settled in the bishopric of Durham did so during the episcopate of

William of St Calais. This suggestion is not implausible as the political climate of the North-East of England improved dramatically during Bishop William's tenure of Durham. The reform of the Church of St Cuthbert and the dispossession of members of the pre-monastic *Congregatio* released estates which the Bishop then redistributed to his Norman followers (79). In Northumberland earl Robert de Mowbray, supported by men such as Hubert de la Val, met with some success in controlling the native population and checking Scottish ambitions (80). Thus, by the end of the eleventh century, it is not unlikely that a few French families would have been encouraged to settle on the Patrimony of St Cuthbert.

The episcopal *acta* surviving from the pontificates of Rannulf Flambard, Geoffrey-Rufus and William of Ste Barbe offer the most detailed evidence for the composition of the feudal society of Durham in the first half of the twelfth century (81). By comparing the information in these *acta* with the evidence for landholding contained in the 1166 *carta* and the returns for 1208-10 and 1264, it is possible to outline the development of the feudal structure of the Honour of St Cuthbert. The first task is to establish, wherever possible, when and how the tenants of the bishopric acquired their lands.

Generally speaking, the tenants, or their immediate predecessors, who owed the most knight service in 1166, are those who occur most frequently in the charters of the first half of the twelfth century. This is to be expected for, if a larger assessment for knight service reflected available resources, then these tenants would be likely to be those most involved in the quotidian functions of the ecclesiastical honour. In addition their comparative wealth would allow them to make

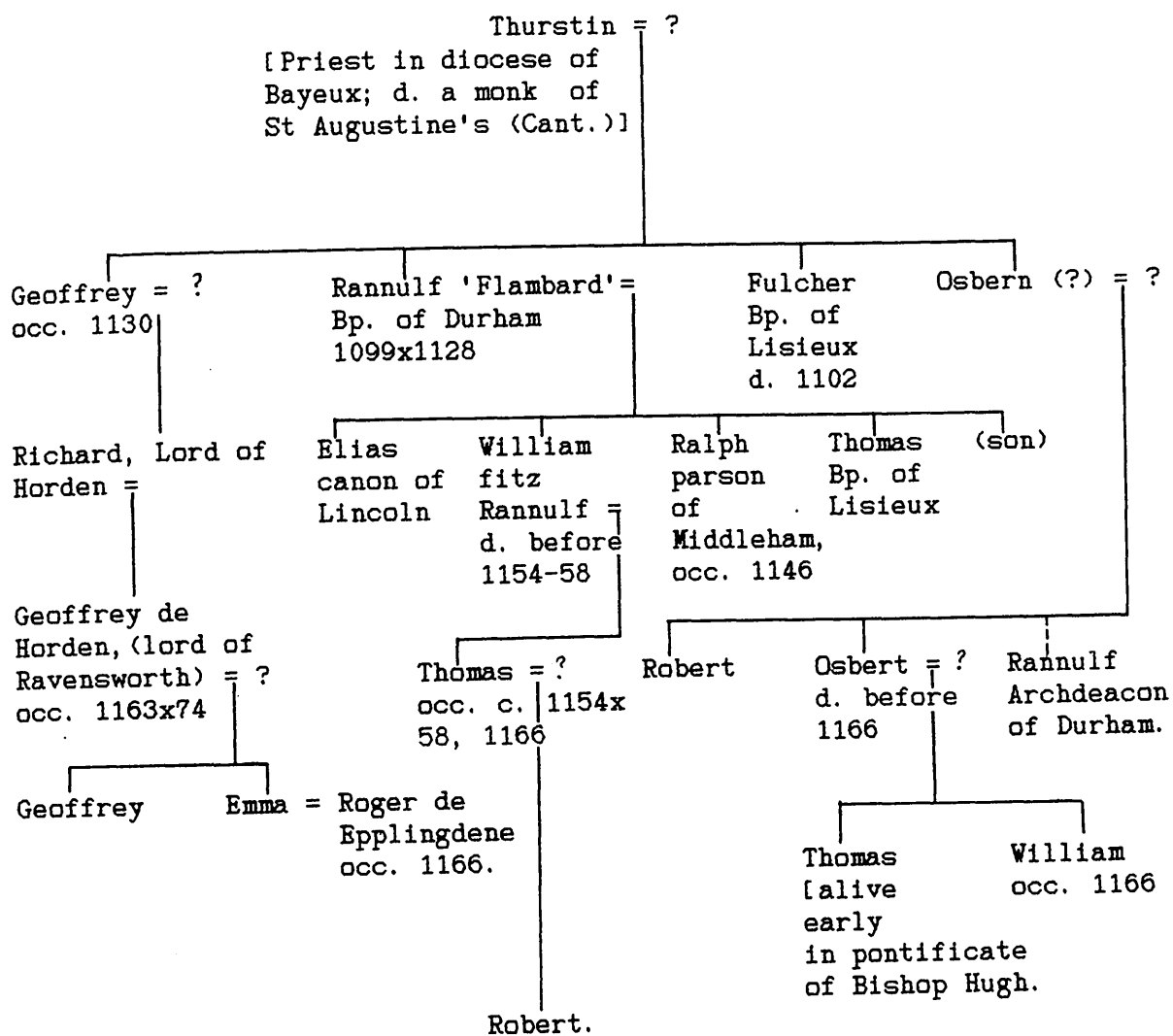
more donations to religious institutions, acts of piety which would ensure that their names were entered into the records of the recipient houses. The *Liber Vitae* of Durham contains the names of many individuals who might otherwise have passed into oblivion (82).

In the majority of cases amongst those owing more than the service of one knight in 1166, their tenancies may be traced back to the episcopate of Rannulf Flambard. The witness lists to two of Bishop Rannulf's *acta* contain the names of individuals whose families are represented in the 1166 *carta*. The charter, Durham DC 2.1. Pont. 6, was one of several recensions of the record of a grant of land to Flambard's kinsman, William fitz Rannulf, made between 1116 and 1119 (83). The witness list may be compared with that appended to one of the Bishop's last *acta* of August 1128, restoring the Convent's possessions which he had abstracted during his episcopate, (Durham, DC, 2.1. Pont. 2) (84). Together, these testamentary clauses mention the majority of the honorial baronage established during Flambard's pontificate. Leaving aside the ecclesiastical witnesses, the secular group was composed of; *Osbertus nepos episcopi*, *Ilger de Corneford*, *Uhtred filius Maldr[edil]*, *Johannes Damundavilla*, *Rogerus de Coisn[er]iis*, *Petrus de Humet*, *Willelmus filius Rannulfi*, *Ansket[illus] de Wirec[estre]*, *Radulfus de Winc[estre]*, *Goffridus Scollant*, *Walterus de Must[ers]*, *Loher[ingus]*, *Willelmus cam[er]arius*, *Robertus nepos episcopi*, *Unspac*, *Walterus de Lundonia*, *Gosfridus Daldelin*, *Bernard[us] frater suus*. When this group is compared with the list of tenants given by the 1166 *carta* it becomes clear that the majority of the families composing the honorial baronage of St Cuthbert had settled in the North-East by the end of Bishop Rannulf's pontificate.

Perhaps the earliest settlers on the Patrimony of St Cuthbert were those individuals mentioned by the charter of Edgar of Scotland (85). Ilger de Corneford and Peter de Humet seem to have disappeared from the honour before 1166, but the Amundevilles held one of the largest tenancies according to Hugh du Puiset's return. The Cornforth and Humet fees descended to two other 1166 barons. Cornforth (86) formed part of the manor of Bishop Middleham which was held by William fitz Osbert in 1166. William's father was the *Osbertus nepos episcopi* of Flambard's charters who had probably received Middleham before Bishop Rannulf's death in 1128. It is noticeable that Ilger de Corneford was not among the witnesses to Flambard's death-bed restitution of the Convent's lands (87). Peter de Humet held the estate of Brancepeth in County Durham which was acquired by the Bulmer family, through Ansketil de Bulmer's marriage to Peter's heiress (88). The son of Bertram de Bulmer was a baron of St Cuthbert by virtue of his possession of this estate in 1166 (89). Members of the Humet family, which also held land in Lincolnshire, continued to appear in the charters of twelfth-century Durham although their relationship to the erstwhile lord of Brancepeth is uncertain (90).

There is evidence that a number of the baronial families listed in 1166 were enfeoffed with their lands by Bishop Rannulf. This does not necessarily mean that the fees themselves were created by Flambard for the recipients of his largesse often succeeded earlier tenants. Especially prominent in this group are a significant number of the Bishop's relatives. In around 1127 Flambard granted his *nepos*, Richard, half a knight's fee composed of Eighton, Ravensworth and Blakiston (91). The witness list to this grant conveniently brings together most of the

Fig. 6.1. The Family of Bishop Rannulf Flambard.



Bishop's relatives and suggests that the enfeoffment was made under a certain amount of familial pressure. The witnesses are Rannulf the archdeacon, Papa *monachus*, Osbert *nepos episcopi* and his brother, Robert, William son of Rannulf, Urricus, Richard de *Untedune* and Pagan *nepos Rannulfi*. Urricus remains a mystery but the others named have, with varying degrees of necessary ingenuity, been linked to Flambard. For example, Professor Offler has suggested that Papa *monachus* may be identified as a relative of the Bishop because he seems somewhat out of place in the otherwise secular group witnessing Richard's enfeoffment (92). Flambard's connection with Huntingdon, [*Untedune*], returns us to the story of the attempted seduction of Christina of Markyate (93). Richard de *Untedune* may have been a kinsman of the Bishop's mistress Alveva.

William, son of Rannulf may have been one of Flambard's many progeny. As he had attempted to do, without success at Lisieux, Bishop Rannulf used his position to create a landholding dynasty within the honour of St Cuthbert (94). William fitz Rannulf's estate was composed of Houghall, Harraton and the two Herringtons to be held for the service one knight, and Hawthorn, also for the service of one knight (95). William succeeded two tenants, Amalric the smith and Richard, both of whom, judging by their names, seem to have been Frenchmen. In 1166, Thomas, son of William answered for two knights' fees of the old enfeoffment (96). Hugh du Puiset had confirmed Thomas' inheritance of his father's lands between 1154 and 1158 and the family retained control of their estate well into the thirteenth century, later taking their name from Herrington near Houghton-le-Spring (97).

Richard, *nepos episcopi*, the recipient of the grant of Eighton, Ravensworth and Blakiston, had to defend his position against a concerted attempt by the Convent of Durham to recover Blakiston. At the end of his pontificate, Rannulf Flambard undertook to restore all that he had taken from the monks. His charter of restitution was confirmed by Henry I in a writ mentioning Blakiston in particular (98). This was followed by another royal instruction empowering Walter Espec, Eustace fitz John and Geoffrey Escolland to ensure that the monks of Durham were in possession of all their lands (99). Eventually the two parties came to an arrangement whereby Richard continued to hold the property but as a fief of the Prior and Convent rather than the Bishop (100). In 1166, Richard's son Geoffrey held one and a half fees of the Honour of St Cuthbert. The half fee presumably represents those lands acquired by his father in 1128. Towards the end of the twelfth century, another of the 1166 tenants, Roger de *Hepplingdene* sold land in Silksworth, (*ii bovatas terrae quae fuerunt Alexandri Eschirmisur*), to Philip, son of Hamo, *pro v marcis et iii s*, and gave Philip's brother Thomas *vi bovatas* in the same place (101). Roger, who held one fee at Eppleton (near Houghton-le-Spring) in 1166, had acquired the land in Silksworth through his marriage to Emma, daughter of Geoffrey fitz Richard, lord of Horden and Silksworth. The grants of Roger and his wife were confirmed by Geoffrey who later added his own grant of land in Silksworth to Philip fitz Hamo (102).

As Professor Offler pointed out, the Silksworth charters allow us to identify another of Flambard's relatives (103). Pagan *nepos Rannulfi* may be the *Paganus de Sylkeswrtha* who held at least one carucate of land in that vill. Between 1163 and 1174, Geoffrey fitz Richard confirmed

Philip fitz Hamo's purchase of *i carucatam terrae in Sylkeswrtha, quae scilicet fuit Pagani de Sylkeswrtha, quam idem Philippus emit de Waltero de Insula pro xx marcis* (104). Judging by this evidence the landed interest of the Flambard clan in the north-east of County Durham was considerable.

Of all Flambard's relatives, Osbert *nepos episcopi* seems to have prospered most as a result of the Bishop's patronage. Osbert appears in the charters of the first half of the twelfth century as *nepos episcopi* and as *vicecomes*. He witnesses as 'sheriff' during the episcopate of Rannulf Flambard from whom he received the appointment (105). During Geoffrey-Rufus' tenure of the bishopric, Osbert appears only as *nepos episcopi* which might imply that he had lost the post at Rannulf Flambard's death. By 1141, however, Osbert was once again acting as the sheriff of Durham (106). As has been suggested, he was granted the episcopal estate of Middleham which may have reverted to Flambard on the death of the former tenant, Ilger of Cornforth. Confirmation of Osbert's tenure of Middleham comes from a grant of the church there to St Cuthbert and the monks of Durham, in which Osbert states,

Ego Osbertus nepos episcopi Rannulfi legali donatione ipsius episcopi hereditario iure possidens manerium quod dicitur Middelham... (107).

Osbert and his kinsman, Ralph *clericus*, son of Bishop Rannulf made the gift in memory of Bishop Rannulf's pious devotion to St Cuthbert and his monks (108). There might, in this grant, be a concerted attempt by Flambard's kin to ameliorate the Bishop's reputation. In 1166 Osbert's son, William, held land for the service of three knights *de veteri*

feffamento (109). Osbert also had another son, Thomas, who appears witnessing two charters of Bishop Geoffrey-Rufus in company with his father (110). In Reginald of Durham's *Libellus*, Osbert appears as a somewhat over zealous office bearer, prone to imprisoning the innocent and making light of their predicament (111).

As Flambard's plans to install his sons in the church of Lisieux had been thwarted, he may have taken comfort from the fact that he had firmly established his kinsmen on estates of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. Despite the efforts of the Convent to dislodge one of Bishop Rannulf's *nepotes*, the Flambard family continued to have representatives among the honorial baronage throughout the twelfth century and into the thirteenth (112). Links were established with other members of the baronial aristocracy weaving the dynasty into the feudal tapestry of the honour.

As well as enfeoffing members of his own family, Flambard established a number of the other barons of the bishopric. The Conyers, Escolland and Papedy families can be shown to have had direct ties with Bishop Rannulf. The fortification of Norham castle seems to have been the occasion for the creation of the Papedy fee (113). According to the *Historia Regum*, Flambard began building the castle at Norham in 1121 (114). Papedy appears as the sheriff of Norham in one of the episcopal grants to St Cuthbert and his monks and was, presumably Bishop Rannulf's administrative *factotum* in North Durham (115). Papedy's position may have been analogous to that of *S. W' de Alrikar* in the estates in the East Riding of Yorkshire (116). Before Papedy's appointment Flambard may have relied upon native officials to administer his estates in Norhamshire and Islandshire. This is suggested by the writ issued in

Anglo-Saxon to 'all the thegns and drengs of Islandshire and of Norhamshire' (117).

The Papedy fee was initially composed of land at Ancroft near Norham. Papedy was to hold the estate for the service of half a knight to be performed at Norham castle, (...*et hoc servitium faciat in castello de Norham*) (118). This is the only extant example of a fee created specifically to provide castle-guard on the honour of St Cuthbert in the first half of the twelfth century. The fee was augmented before 1128 with the acquisition of Allerdean as is indicated by a confirmation of Papedy's lands in *Alu(er)dane et Ancroft* by Prior Algar and the Convent (119). In 1166 *Henricus de Papede* held one fee *de veteri feffamento* and the returns of 1208-10 suggest that this was composed of the lands of Ancroft, Allerdean and nearby Felkington (120). At the time of King John's inquiry the Papedy fee had been divided between Henry's heiresses, Wimarc and Matilda, and they and their husbands, Roger Daudre and Ingeram Oldcotes each held half of the estates for the service of half a knight (121). The Papedy fee was noticeably compact providing a viable economic unit to support the tenant's duties at Norham castle.

In 1108 Bishop Rannulf despatched a certain knight, *Scollandus*, as a messenger to Archbishop Anselm (122). Scollandus was probably a member of Flambard's household although he held lands in Hampshire which were claimed by his son Geoffrey in 1130 (123). Geoffrey Escolland seems to have become a man of some importance in the bishopric during Bishop Rannulf's pontificate. After Flambard's death, Geoffrey senior, together with John de Amundeville, was given custody of the temporalities of the see and was called to account for the farm of the bishopric during the vacancy from 1128 to 1133 (124). He was evidently considered the chief

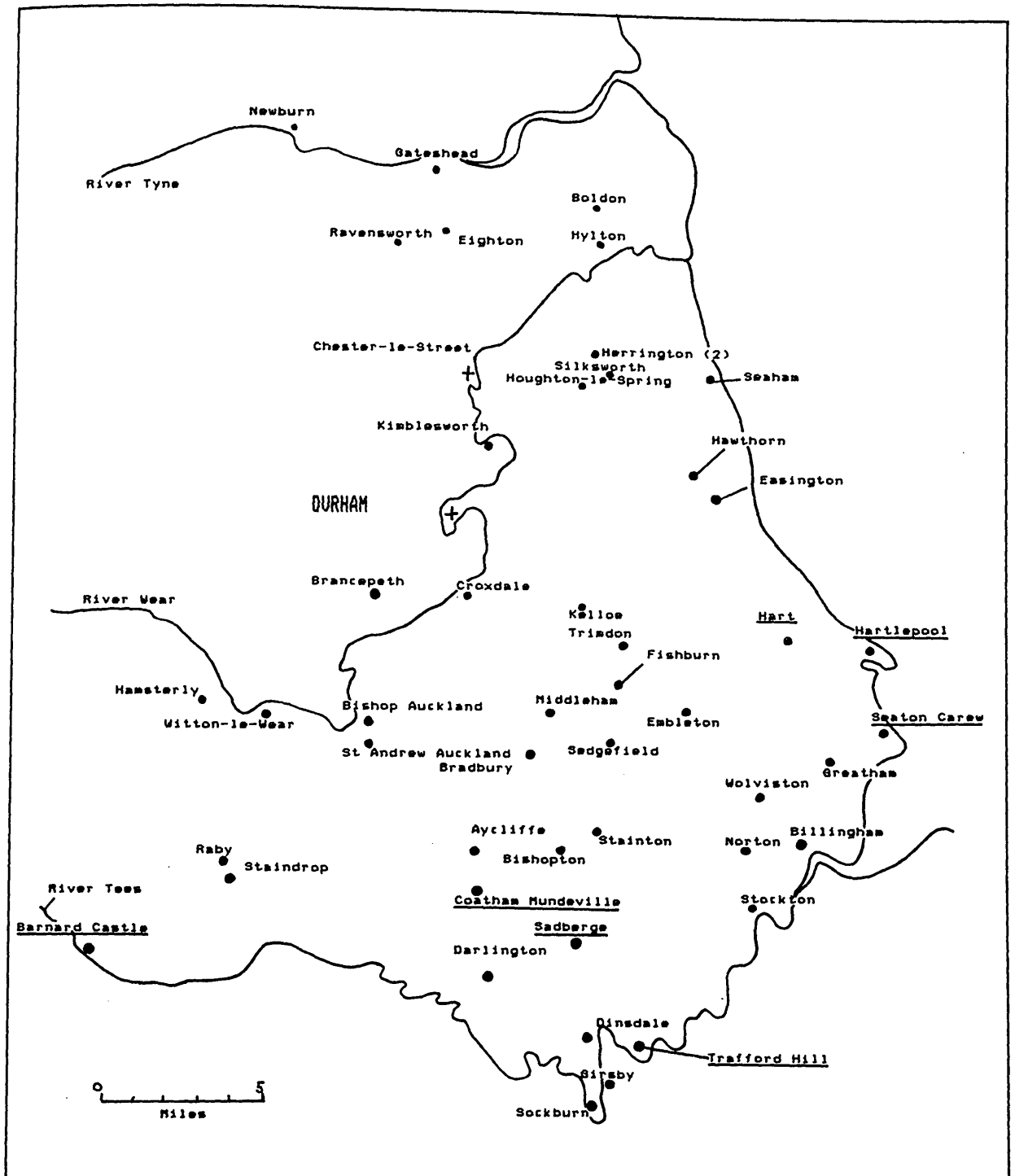


Fig. 6.2. The *Barones sancti Cuthberti*; location of estates. Fees held in chief from the King are underlined.

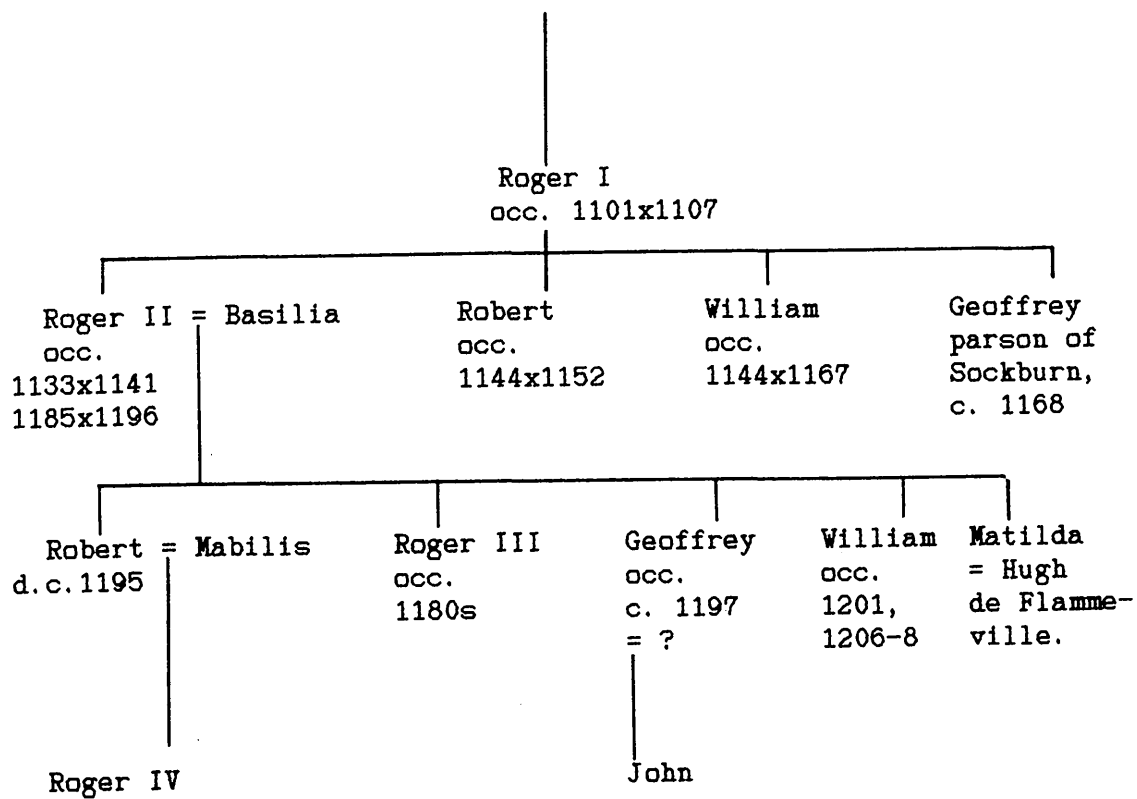
official in Durham by Henry I as a royal writ was addressed to Walter Espec, Eustace fitz John and Geoffrey Escolland (125). Geoffrey was a frequent witness to the episcopal charters of Rannulf Flambard but does not appear in those of Geoffrey-Rufus and in only one of William of Ste Barbe (126).

In 1166 the Escolland fee was held by Elias, Geoffrey's heir (127). A chirograph drawn up *inter Absalonem Priorem et Capitulum Sancti Cuthberti et inter Heliam Escoland et heredes ipsius...*, indicates that Elias had succeeded to the family's estates before 1155. The cyrograph in question, (DC Durham, 1.8. Spec. 34) was produced to record the settlement of a dispute over the boundaries between the Convent's land at Dalton and the nearby Escolland holdings at Seaham and Seaton (128). Among the many witnesses were William and *Reinaldus* Escolland, perhaps sons or younger brothers of Elias. Elias' heir was Jordan Escolland who is to be found witnessing the Silksworth charters with his father (129). It was this Jordan Escolland who was cured of a mysterious illness by the intercession of St Godric (130).

One of the most prominent families of the honorial baronage of St Cuthbert were the Conyers. Roger de Conyers held three fees of the Bishop of Durham in 1166 although the family's interests were not confined to *Haliwerfolc* (131). It has been suggested by Professor Offler that the Conyers' connection with the bishopric may date from as early as 1086 (132). Domesday records that a certain Robert was a tenant of the Bishop of Durham in *Nortone, Sudtone, Hulme* [and] *Torp* (133). These lands later formed part of the Conyers fee in Allertonshire, North Yorkshire. The identification of the Domesday tenant, Robert, as a member of the Conyers family rests wholly on the supposition that the

Fig. 6.3.

Genealogical Table of the Conyers.



estates in question remained in the family from at least 1086 onwards. It has been shown that, elsewhere on the honour of St Cuthbert, estates were held by a succession of unrelated tenants. Without the irrefutable evidence of a toponymic element in the Domesday tenant's name, Robert's membership of the Conyers family must remain purely conjectural. In any case we need look no further than the episcopate of Rannulf Flambard for the enfeoffment of the Conyers.

At around the same time as the first member of the Escolland family made an appearance in connection with Bishop Rannulf, a certain Roger de Conyers witnessed a writ of Henry I (134). This writ, dated to 1101-1107, granted Bishop Rannulf lands which Robert Fossard had claimed against him. Roger de Conyers was, perhaps, witnessing on Flambard's behalf as one of the Bishop's representatives at the royal court. There are no earlier references to members of the Conyers family although Robert Surtees believed that a Roger de Conyers was the custodian of Durham castle under William I and Bishop William of St Calais. The family certainly did hold the constablenesship of the castle but not before 1100 and probably not formally until 1149-52 (135).

The three fees for which Roger de Conyers answered in 1166 lay either side of the river Tees, in the south of County Durham and in Allertonshire, North Yorkshire (136). According to a charter of confirmation issued by the Prior and Convent of Durham, between 1128 and 1135, Bishop Rannulf had enfeoffed Roger I de Conyers, the father of the 1166 tenant, with Bishopton, Sockburn and Stainton in Durham, to be held for the service of one knight; Dinsdale, West Rounton and Girsby as one fee, and Hutton Conyers, Howgrave, Norton Conyers, and Holme also as one fee (137). These estates composed the three knights' fees held by Roger

II de Conyers in 1166 (138). It was a comparatively compact block of territory straddling the river Tees and it is likely that these vills had connections with one another which long antedate the arrival of the Normans. (139)

The three fees held by Roger II de Conyers in 1166 were not the sum total of the family's landed interests. Henry II caused an inquiry to be made into the *rectam hereditatem* of Roger de Conyers at a date between 1170 and 1175 (140). Through the testimony of the *barones et milites* [in] *curia Dunelmensi*, Henry had learned that, in addition to the three fees mentioned above, Roger de Conyers held *Elinchit* (141) from the honour of Brancepeth; West Auckland, Evenwood, Morlay and Mayland for a knight's fee; Bedlington and Bedlingtonshire for the service of two knights and Finningham in Suffolk as a half fee of the honour of Craykes (142). The land at St Helen's Auckland had been acquired from Peter de Humet whilst he had held the honour of Brancepeth (143). The lands in Bedlington (Northumberland) came into the family's possession through Robert of Bedlington naming Roger II de Conyers as his heir. Robert was the son of Radulf of Winchester who appears among the witnesses to several of Flambard's *acta* (144). Thus, by the mid-1170s then Conyers had acquired estates for which they owed the service of seven and a half knights. In addition, as Dr Hall pointed out, a branch of the Conyers family held at Clifton in Northumberland rendering the service of one knight to the de Merlays of Morpeth (145). These substantial holdings enabled the Conyers to play a significant role in the affairs of the Honour of St Cuthbert.

During the vacancy after Flambard's death Roger I de Conyers seems to have been awarded the custodianship of Durham castle by Henry I

(146). Between 1149 and 1152, Bishop William of Ste Barbe granted Roger II de Conyers *connestabulatum Dunelmensem in feodum et hereditatem et custodiam turris...* in a document which also records that Robert of Bedlington had named Roger as his heir (147). Later, in the aftermath of Young Henry's revolt, Roger II was required to surrender Norham castle to William de Neville but was allowed to retain control of Durham (148). In addition to commanding the episcopal castles, Roger II acted *ex regis imperio* as the guardian of the bishopric during the vacancy after the death of Bishop William of Ste Barbe. His tenure of the office was, according to Reginald of Durham, the occasion for the plundering of the bishopric. In fact Reginald bluntly calls Roger's personal rule a tyranny (149). Members of the Conyers family are to be found witnessing charters for many of the important barons of the North-East of England and they even appear in Scotland (150). At the end of the twelfth century the estates were partitioned with the Durham and Yorkshire lands following different lines of descent (151). A measure of the prestige which the Conyers attained can be gauged from the fact that it was the duty of a member of the family to present the Bishop with a falchion on his entry to the see (152). Secondly, the Conyers became the heroes of a local legend probably dating from the fourteenth century, in which, as Robert Surtees reported;

Sir John Conyers, Knt., slew yt. monstrous and poysonous vermine or wyverne, and aske or werme wh. overthrew and devoured many people on sight, for ye sent of yt. poison was so strong yt. no person might abide it (153).

This was the Conyers' ultimate accolade; to be identified as the saviours of the men of St Cuthbert.

Other tenants of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert had their principal interests outwith the ecclesiastical honour of Durham. Peter de Humet's estate at Brancepeth, County Durham, passed to the powerful Yorkshire family the Bulmers of Wilton. In 1166 the son of Bertram de Bulmer held five fees from the Bishop of Durham. These fees represented the Brancepeth estate which Bertram's father Ansketil had acquired through marriage to the Humet heiress (154). Bertram's kinsman Stephen de Bulmer also held a fee of the honour of St Cuthbert in 1166, although his acquisition of the barony at Wooler by marriage to Cecily, the Muschamps heiress must have occupied most of his time (155).

The Bulmer honour was considerable and it is possible that families associated with them in Yorkshire followed them into Durham. One such case might be that of the Hagets who, in 1166, held half a knight's fee. Although no direct links with the Hagets active in Yorkshire can be established it is not unlikely that they profited from the Bulmer acquisition at Brancepeth. Ralph Haget, the 1166 tenant held at Garmondsway for *Boldon Book* recorded that;

In Garmundesway sunt v bovate que fuerunt Radulphi Haget quas Episcopus habet de sua escaeta et reddunt xvi s. et viii d. et x gallinas cum v^{xxx} ova (156)

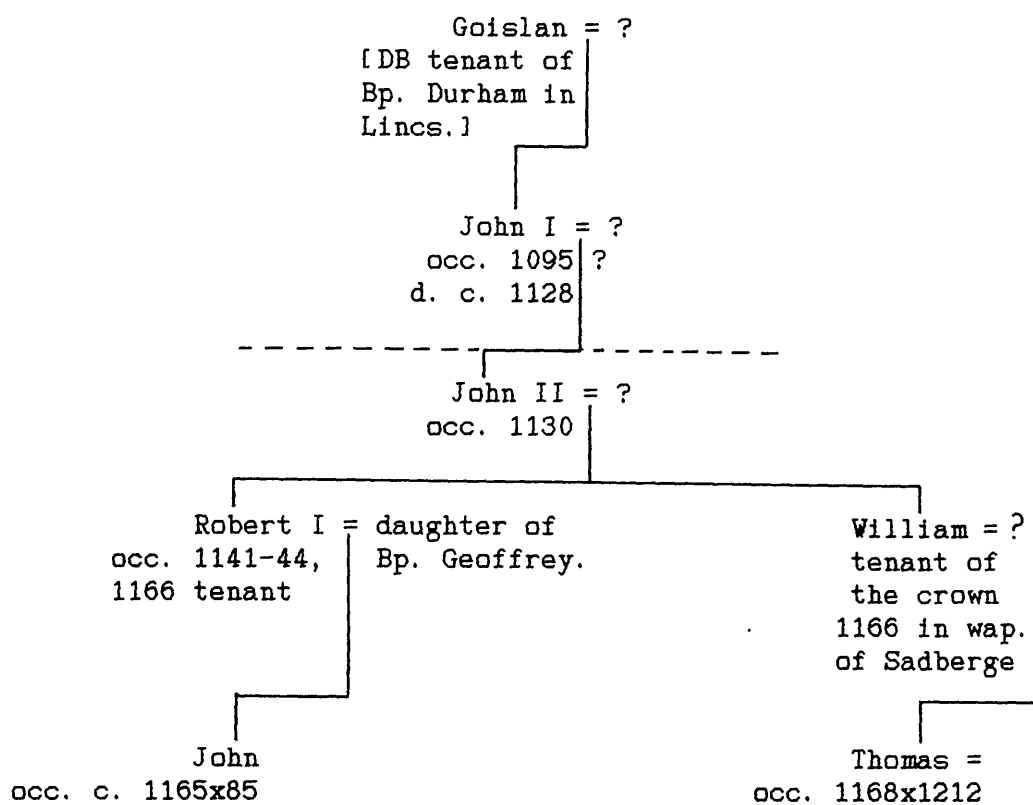
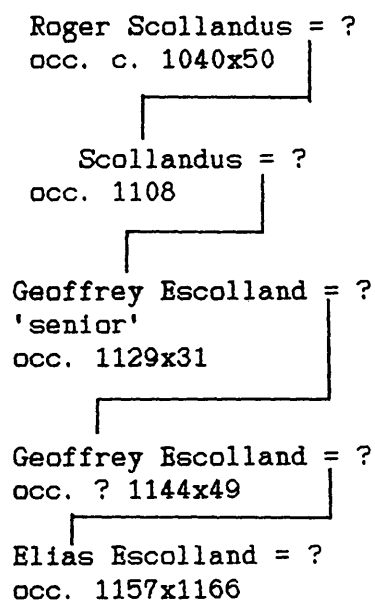
Ralph Haget, sheriff of Durham for a substantial part of Hugh du Puiset's episcopate, (c.1153-1180), was related to the Daudre family (157). The Daudre family itself as well as sharing in the division of the Papedy estate, held two knights' fees in 1166 possibly at Croxdale

and Burnigill the proximity of which to the honour of Brancepeth may be significant (158).

The Vescy family were among the leading tenants-in-chief of the crown in the North of England (159). According to Hugh du Puiset's *carta*, William de Vescy held three fees of the honour of St Cuthbert, but his principal interests lay in Yorkshire and Northumberland (160). William (died 1183) was the son of Henry I's justiciar in the North, Eustace fitz John, and Beatrice heir of Ives de Vescy, lord of the baronies of Alnwick and Malton (161). The Vesci fees on the honour of St Cuthbert lay in Allertonshire at Worsall and Landmoth, and at Embleton near Sedgfield in County Durham (162). In addition, around 1157, William de Vescy, as heir of Eustace fitz John was holding the two Chiltons in fee from the Bishop as well as the whole fee and service of Geoffrey Escolland (163). This Geoffrey Escolland was not, presumably, the *Gaufridus senior* who had held the bishopric during the vacancy after Flambard's death, but a younger member of the family then headed by Elias. William de Vescy also held the fee of Ralph de Caugy, a benefactor of the Church of St Cuthbert and heir to the barony of Ellingham (Northumberland) through his marriage to Mabil de Granville (164). Vescy and Bulmer interests came together when Thomas de Muschamps, son and heir of Stephen de Bulmer, married Maud, William de Vescy's daughter (165). This nexus of feudal ties occupied much of William de Vescy's time and his appearances in the charters of the bishopric of Durham were, as a consequence, relatively infrequent (166).

Members of the Amundeville family were tenants-in-chief of the crown as well as leading barons of the honour of St Cuthbert. A certain John of Amundeville appears among the witnesses to Edgar's grant and it

Fig. 6.4.

Genealogical Table of the Amundeville Family.Genealogical Table of the Family of Escolland.

has been suggested that the connection with Durham was forged in Lincolnshire, where Goislan was a tenant of the Bishop (167). In 1130 John de Amundeville, probably son of the witness to Edgar's grant, answered for ten marks for the seisin of his father's lands (168). Together with Unspac and Clibert, John II de Amundeville witnessed Geoffrey Escolland's account of his farm of the vacant see (169). John II's two sons, Robert and William make an appearance with their father as witnesses to the Prior and Convent's grant of Staindrop and Staindropshire to Dolfin, son of Uhtred in 1131 (170). By 1166 Robert and William had succeeded to the family's estates held of the Bishop of Durham and of the King. Robert held five fees centred on Witton-le-Wear, whilst William's tenancy-in-chief lay within the wapentake of Sadberge at Coatham Mundeville and Trafford Hill (171). The Amundevilles acquired an especially close connection with the Bishop when Robert married a daughter of Geoffrey-Rufus (172). He witnesses his father-in-law's grant of the churches of St Nicholas in Durham and Boldon, and appears in the testamentary clauses to several of Bishop William of Ste Barbe's *acta* (173).

Many of the tenants of the Honour of St Cuthbert retained a French toponymic element in their names. The Conyers and Amundevilles in particular preserved, in their family nomenclature, a record of their origins in Normandy. Other tenants had names which suggested that their families had connections with other parts of England. The 1166 tenant of one fee, *Radulf de Wirecestria* was the heir of Ansketil of Worcester who appears as accounting for the Yorkshire manors of the Bishop of Durham during the vacancy of 1128-33 (174). In addition, the family held the Northumberland barony of Hadston (175). Similarly, a regular witness to

the *acta* of Rannulf Flambard was Ralph of Winchester whose son, Robert, was the *Robertus de Bethlington* who made Roger II de Conyers his heir to the family estate in Bedlingtonshire (176).

In contrast to these tenants of the Honour there is a significant group of individuals whose names suggest that their landholding interests were wholly focused on their Durham estates. The 1166 tenants, Roger of *Heplingdene*, William de *Fisburne* and William de *Hoppedene* each held single fees centred on the settlements within the bishopric which provided them with the toponymic element to their names. Their establishment on the Honour may have owed much to connections with other baronial families, as was perhaps the case with the marriage of Roger of Eppleton and the daughter of Geoffrey fitz Richard (177). One of the largest tenancies in 1166 was that of Roman de Hylton. Roman's three fees were centred on Hylton, near Monkwearmouth, but the circumstances surrounding the family's acquisition of land on the Honour are somewhat obscure. Roman makes no other impression on the surviving record of twelfth-century Durham and it is only towards 1200 that Alexander of Hylton and his son Robert, the tenant in 1264, appear amongst the witnesses to local charters (178).

Many of the other witnesses to the episcopal *acta* of the twelfth century were officers of the episcopal household whose service was rewarded with grants of land in the bishopric. Prominent during Bishop Rannulf's pontificate was a certain *Willelmus camerarius* (179). Bishop Geoffrey Rufus granted William a fee at Kelloe, Plawsworth and Burdon as well as land and houses in Durham held by virtue of his wife's inheritance (180). William's land in Burdon seems to have been granted by Hugh du Puiset to Luke de Rana, whose son appears as holding half a

fee in 1166 (181). Several members of Hugh du Puiset's household held fractional fees *de novo* of the Honour of St Cuthbert according to the Bishop's *carta*. Gilbert *camerarius* held two small fees, owing the service of a fifth and a tenth of a knight respectively, but managed to improve his position by marrying into the well established Papedy family (182). Gilbert's wife, Juliana, appears along with several other barons' wives among the witnesses to Emma de Eppleton's grant to Philip fitz Hamo (183).

Andreas Pinceon, the steward of Rannulf Flambard held a large estate of the Bishop of Durham in Lincolnshire (184). His son, Hugh, inherited the office together with the fee which was augmented by Bishop Rannulf in the early 1120s (185). At its greatest extent the estate of Hugh fitz Pinceon was held for the service of ten knights. Despite the fact that the greater part of his holdings were in Lincolnshire, Hugh took an active part in the affairs of Durham including a leading role in the upheavals which followed the death of Bishop Geoffrey Rufus (186).

The crisis which accompanied the attempt by William Cumin to seize the episcopal throne of Durham provides an illustration of the honorial baronage of St Cuthbert acting as a body against an unwanted intruder. The leaders of the resistance to Cumin were named by the continuator of Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* as Bertram de Bulmer, Geoffrey Escolland, Robert de Amundeville and Roger de Conyers (187). Roger de Conyers' resistance was conducted from his fortified residence at Bishopton. After the election of William of Ste Barbe to the bishopric of Durham, Hugh fitz Pinceon decided to throw in his lot with Cumin betraying Ansketil of Worcester into the intruder's custody. After delivering the castle of Thornley to the intruder, Hugh had struck a

bargain with Cumin which was to be sealed by the marriage of Hugh's daughter and Cumin's nephew (188). It was at this stage that Cumin captured and held for ransom Robert de Amundeville. After a successful attack on Cumin's forces at Merrington by Roger de Conyers, Geoffrey Escolland and Bertram de Bulmer, the usurper was forced to come to terms with his opponents. In the face of the concerted opposition of the powerful honorial baronage of the see of Durham, William Cumin was obliged to withdraw from the bishopric and abandon his attempt to secure the episcopal throne (189).

The tenants of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert described thus far seem to represent an exclusively French aristocracy. Nowhere amongst their ranks do any English names appear. Judging by the 1166 *carta* and the later returns, the local English nobility seems to have suffered a tenurial catastrophe upon the arrival of the Normans in the North East of England. However, these sources from the latter half of the twelfth century and later are misleading. There is evidence that not all the members of the Northumbrian nobility, which had so successfully resisted the forces of Robert Cumin and Bishop Walcher, had been overwhelmed by the French settlement which seems to have gained in intensity during the episcopate of Rannulf Flambard. A closer inspection of the sources for the first half of the twelfth century reveals a more heterogeneous society.

There was no large scale influx of continental peasantry into the North-East of England during the period under discussion (190). The lower levels of Northumbrian society retained their native characteristics as is well demonstrated by the analysis of the evidence of *Baldon Book* (191). As the twelfth century progressed the

intermingling of the French and English elements of Northumbrian society, as elsewhere in England, tended to obscure ethnic origins. So, for example, the offspring of native families might adopt French personal names thus obfuscating their English roots (192). An apposite example of this phenomenon is provided by the case of Roger of Kibleswrthe. Roger issued a charter in 1185 in which he styled himself, *Rogerus de Kibleswrthe, filius Cliberti de Hettun* (193). The document in question recorded the exchange of land at Wolviston which Roger and his ancestors had held in drengage for land at Cocken which he was to hold of the Prior and Convent at an annual rent of two shillings (194). Roger's father, Clibernus, was probably the former tenant of the Bishop of Durham, who held a half carucate of land in Wolviston granted by Bishop Geoffrey Rufus to the monks *ad lumen emendum in capitulum* (195).

Roger and his father were probably relatively minor tenants of the Bishop of Durham but their case illustrates the survival of native landholders under the Norman regime (196). As has been stated above, one of Bishop Rannulf's *acta* was issued in Anglo-Saxon and addressed to 'all his thegns and drengs of Islandshire and Norhamshire' (197). There is evidence that Flambard, and perhaps his immediate successors as Bishop, relied heavily upon native Northumbrians in their administration of the see. During the vacancy after Flambard's death two men with English names, Unspac and Clibert, appear with John de Amundeville as having responsibility for the restocking of the episcopal manors. Clibert appears elsewhere in the Pipe Roll for 31 Henry I, answering for 100s. *pro duello* of his man. Other native names also occur, with Alwold, son of Alwold Cild rendering 10 marks relief on the land of his father and the sons of Alwin de Crawecroca paying 20s, for the same privilege

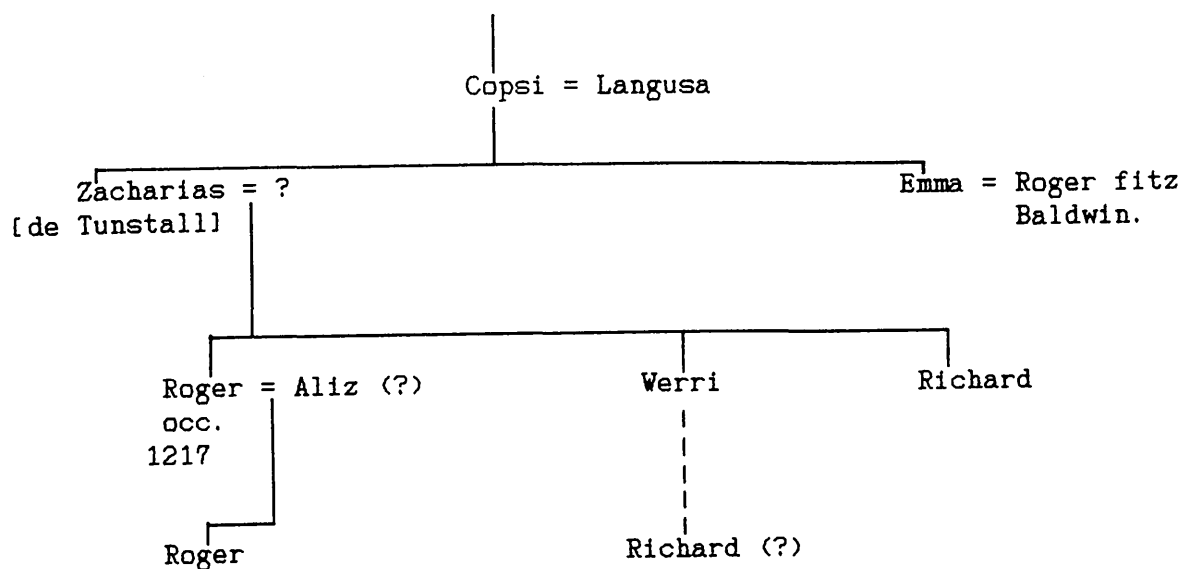
(198). Unspac and Clibert appear in the witness lists to Bishop Rannulf's charters and are probably representative of the large number of native episcopal functionaries at work in the see.

There are numerous brief references to English families in the corpus of charters surviving from the twelfth century. Many of these native Northumbrians were probably tenants on estates held by the Norman barons described above. A charter of Roger de Conyers, for example, noted that he had conveyed to the Prior and Convent of Durham the three sons of Eylof of Bishopton together with their succession in exchange for a horse and six marks of silver (199). Elsewhere Alan son of Ulkill, Hugh son of Uhtred, William son of Meldred and Richard son of Lyolf may also represent the sub-tenants of Norman lords (200). However, some Northumbrian families managed to retain their position among the higher echelons of twelfth-century Durham society.

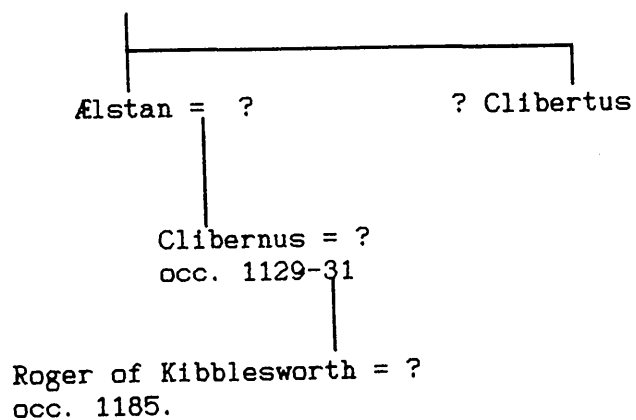
A series of charters relating to grants of land in Burdon, near Haughton-le-Skerne, made by Roger of Burdon, reveal a native family which had maintained its position despite the arrival of the Normans. In charters to the Almoner of Durham and to William Brito, Roger of Burdon styles himself *Rogerus filius Akaris (or Zachariae) de Burdona* (201). In an earlier document a certain *Accarisius filius Copsi* made a grant of one carucate of land in Burdon to Roger fitz Baldwin *cum sorore mea Emma in conjugium* (202). Roger of Burdon represented a native line of landholders on the estate of Burdon. Other charters concerning Burdon make it possible to construct a detailed genealogical table for the family (203). From this it becomes clear that not only did the Burdon family survive, but it retained a position of some importance. As might

Fig. 6.5.

Genealogical Table of the Family of Burdon



Genealogical Table of the Family of Kibblesworth.



be expected the sub-tenants of Burdon bear exclusively English names (204).

The Nevilles of Raby, descendants of one Northumbrian family which continued to hold land under the Normans were one of the most powerful baronial families of the North of England. Dolfin son of Uhtred was granted the estate of Staindrop and Staindropshire by the Prior and Convent of Durham in 1131 (205). Dolfin's father Uhtred was the son of Meldred and a witness to Bishop Rannulf's enfeoffment of William fitz Rannulf (206). Meldred was given the vill of Winlaton by Bishop William of St Calais in exchange for his interest in Ketton (207). Towards the end of the twelfth century one of the most prominent barons in the bishopric was Robert fitz Meldred who granted land at Newsham and Osmondcroft to the Prior and Convent of Durham (208). From the charters recording these gifts it is clear that the family's estates were concentrated in the south-west of County Durham, the area which was to be the centre of the Neville honour at Raby (209).

This evidence on the English tenants of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert goes some way in modifying the view that the native aristocracy had been wholly overwhelmed by French settlers in the aftermath of the Conquest. It is not possible to know what proportion of Durham society as a whole the families which appear in the records for the twelfth century represent. Without the details of a Domesday Survey for the Bishopric it is difficult to say whether there was any rationale behind the construction of the fees which appeared in the 1166 *carta*. As has been seen Bishop Hugh's return does not fully represent the inhabitants of the Honour of St Cuthbert and tends to obscure the fact that a significant number of native families retained their lands.

A significant role in the formation of the tenurial profile of twelfth century Durham seems to have been taken by Bishop Rannulf Flambard. The lack of evidence for landholding from before 1100 may have distorted the picture to some degree but there is enough material surviving for the period 1100-1150 to suggest that Flambard's policies shaped the feudal structure of Durham for the rest of the century and beyond. Bishop Hugh du Puiset modified this structure, introducing new families here and there but, as G.V. Scammell has pointed out, many of the names of the members of the honorial baronage of du Puiset's episcopate are familiar from the charters and other records of his predecessors as Bishop (210).

Bishop Rannulf's role in the development of the feudal structure of early twelfth-century Durham bears comparison with the creation of the Northumberland baronies by Henry I (211). This is not to suggest that Flambard was acting upon Henry I's orders or even in conscious imitation of his policies. Both Bishop and King found a similar solution to a similar problem. Before 1100 the bishopric of Durham had remained vulnerable to the attacks of the Scots and to the rebellions of a fiercely independent native aristocracy. It was not until the pontificate of William of St Calais that the situation in the North-East of England began to improve. The appointment of Robert de Mowbray as earl of Northumbria checked the Scots attacks and Bishop William's careful reforms in the Church of Durham firmly associated the Norman regime with the powerful cult of St Cuthbert. The key to security for the Normans within the ecclesiastical honour of Durham was the establishment of a French landowning aristocracy closely bound to the interests of the Bishop.

Norman families were encouraged to settle on the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. The first members of the honorial baronage may have been drafted in from the Bishop's estates in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, or may have come directly from Normandy. A significant proportion of the 1166 tenants were the descendants of Flambard's kinsmen and possibly even of the Bishop himself. In order to strengthen the baronage powerful Northern magnates were encouraged to establish an interest within the bishopric. Gradually a web of familial and tenurial ties spread within the honour and beyond, binding the barons of St Cuthbert to the wider feudal society of the North of England. Donations made by Durham families to religious foundations outside the bishopric, as well as similar pious gifts by such magnates as Robert de Brus to the Church at Durham reinforced this feudal nexus (212). Henry I's policies in Northumberland made the northern border of his kingdom more secure. The effectiveness of Flambard's measures in Durham was demonstrated by the baronial resistance to William Cumin in 1141-1144. To these barons the defence of the Church of St Cuthbert became the defence of their own liberty.

The native aristocracy was neither wholly dispossessed nor driven out of the bishopric. The highest levels of Durham society were, however, dominated by Frenchmen, many of whom could trace the establishment of their families in the bishopric to the pontificate of Rannulf Flambard. Survivors of the pre-Conquest Northumbrian landowning class retained their position alongside the Norman settlers. They were the secular counterparts of the members of the pre-Benedictine *Congregatio* which had remained near Cuthbert's shrine after William of St Calais' reforms. The ecclesiastical and secular elements of the

bishopric of Durham thus endured, at least in part, the upheavals attendant upon the arrival of the Normans in the North-East of England.

Endnotes.

1. For the development of the estates of the Church of Durham, see above cap. 2 and H.H.E. Craster, 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', EHR, 70, (1954), pp. 177-99. On ecclesiastical honours in general, see H.M. Chew, *The English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-chief and Knight Service, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*. (Oxford, 1932)
2. For example, Durham DC 2.3.3. Finch. 6. *Rann[ulfus] Dunelmensis episcopus...omnibus baronibus et fidelibus sancti Cuthberti...francis et anglis...*[Printed in H.S. Offler, DEC, no. 22, p. 97].
3. Similar studies have been produced concerning, for example, the Honour of Clare, the tenants of Shaftesbury Abbey, the bishopric of Ely and the Abbey of Peterborough. See, R. Mortimer, 'Land and Service; the tenants of the Honour of Clare,' ANS VIII, (1985), pp. 177-97; Ann Williams, 'The Knights of Shaftesbury Abbey', ANS VIII, (1985), pp. 214-237; E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, (Cambridge, 1951); E. King, *Peterborough Abbey, 1086-1310*, (Cambridge, 1973).
4. The modern counties of Durham and Northumberland are absent from the Domesday Survey, as is most of the modern Cumbria, (Westmorland and Cumberland) except parcels included in Yorkshire. See V.H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, [Oxford 1961], p. 4n.
5. The usual land divisions of the hundred (or wapentake) and shire reached no further than the Tees, with the exception of the anomalous wapentake of Sadberge in the south of County Durham. (See above, . and K. Emsley and C.M. Fraser, 'Durham and the wapentake of Sadberge', TAASDN, n.s. II, (1970), pp. 71-81). In 1096 William Rufus ordered that, henceforth, no geld was to be demanded from *Nordteisa* [RRAN, i, no. 412, App. lxxv. Cf. RRAN, i, no. 480, App. xci, which declares that St Cuthbert's land shall be quit of all castle work and geld, *sicut fuit tempore patris mei*. Rufus' declaration may have been no more than the formal recognition of Durham's *de facto* fiscal immunity. Symeon of Durham's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* preserves the story of Ranulf (or Ralph) the tax-gatherer who attempted to levy 'royal tribute' from the bishopric. St Cuthbert's intervention forced Ranulf to flee without raising anything for the royal coffers. Symeon's story, and more especially Cuthbert's part in it, suggests that the *Haliwerfolc* normally considered themselves to be free of royal fiscal impositions. The first Norman kings were either unaware of this fact, or chose to ignore it, and were, as a consequence, reminded by the saint. [Symeon, HDE, I, p. 107]. Cf. Jean Scammell, 'The Origins and Limitations of the Liberty of Durham', EHR, (1966), p. 450. Professor Barrow suggests that perhaps Bishop William, as 'the man behind the survey' left the investigation of his own lands until last. This may have been merely for the sake of administrative convenience and not necessarily through any ulterior motive. Professor Barrow also points out that the fact that the region was not organised in the same way as the rest of the kingdom would not have been an obstacle. The essential element in the Survey was the calling together of juries with local knowledge and this could have been done as easily in Durham as elsewhere. Another possibility is that

the Domesday Commissioners did not consider *Nordteisa* as part of the kingdom, in effect recognising the separateness of the *Haliwerfolc*. Much still needs to be done on this neglected aspect of the Domesday Survey.

6. Bishop Hugh's *carta* printed in *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, (Rolls Series), pp. 415-18, and in EYC, II, no. 939, pp. 277-80.

7. The four original returns for Durham were made during the vacancy after the death of Bishop Philip in 1208. *The Book of Fees, 1198-1293*, [3 vols., London, 1920-31], vol. 1, pp. 23-31. The editors of *The Book of Fees* suggested that the returns were used in connection with John's expedition to Scotland in 1209 or his expedition to Ireland in 1210. (BF, I, p. 23).

8. BF, I, p. 26, in the return for the wapentake of Sadberge.

9. The list of 85 knights who fought at the Battle of Lewes and those who remained in Durham, occurs in a Durham Exchequer document of the late fourteenth century which also includes copies of *Boldon Book* and *Hatfield's Survey*. [PRO SC 12-21-28]. See [ed.] Rev. W. Greenwell, *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, (SS, vol. 32, [1857]), Preface, pp. vii-viii. The list itself is printed at pp. xiv-xvi.

10. This was the opinion of Professor Barrow as to the meaning of *demorant* in the 1264 list as in, for example, *Sir Humfrey de Conyers demorant a Soeburn*, [*Hatfield's Survey*, p. xvi.

11. [*Anno dominice incarnationis millesimo c^{mo} lxxx^{mo} tertio festum Sancti Cuthberti in quadragesima fecit dominus Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus in presentia sua et suorum describi omnes redditus totius Episcopatus sui assisas et consuetudines sicut tunc erant et ante fuerant*, BB, p. 10. There are several printed editions of *Boldon Book*, the most recent of which, edited by D. Austin for the Phillimore Domesday Series is used here. It was also printed with a translation by the Rev. W. Greenwell for the Surtees Society in 1852, [*Boldon Buke*, (SS, vol. 25, (1852))], and, with a long introduction, for the Victoria County History of Durham by G.T. Lapsley, [VCH, *Durham*, vol. 1, pp. 259-341, (the text is printed at pp. 327-41)].

12. Sir Henry Ellis [ed.], *Additamenta*, [vol. iv of the Record Commission edition of Domesday, (1816), pp. 565-587]. Rev. W. Greenwell, '*Boldon Buke may be called the Domesday of the Palatinate*', *Boldon Buke*, (SS, vol. 25, [1852]), p. vi.

13. BB, ed. Austin, p. 7. For *custumals* and *demesne* surveys in general see P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records*, (British Record Association, Archives and the User, no. 5, [1984]), pp. 18-20.

14. See, for example, the use made of the *Boldon Book* evidence by J.E.A. Jolliffe, '*Northumbrian Institutions*', BHR, 41, (1926), pp. 1-42.

15. *Boldon Book* does mention some of the military tenants of the Bishop of Durham such as Ralph Haget, (BB, p. 25; see below,). For a more

complete list see Lapsley's 'Introduction to the Boldon Book' in VCH, *Durham*, vol. i, p. 271.

16. *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, ed. Rev. W. Greenwell, (SS, vol. 32, [1856]) and see note 9 above.

17. *Hatfield's Survey* has a format different from that of *Boldon Book* being arranged in the four wards of Darlington, Chester, Easington and Stockton. The later document also includes the wapentake of Sadberge acquired by Hugh du Puiset in 1189 and therefore missing from his custumal.

18. The see was vacant from 1096-1099, 1128-1133, 1195-1197 and 1208-1217.

19. *Magnus Rotulus Scaccarii 31 Henry I*, ed. J. Hunter for the Record Commission, (1833).

20. PR 31 Henry I, pp. 128-32.

21. See W.A. Pantin, *Report on the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham*, (privately printed, 1939), and J. Conway-Davies, 'The Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham', DUJ, vol. xliv, no. 3, (1952), pp. 77-87. Professor Dobson has produced a short guide to the Durham Muniments in his *Durham Priory, 1400-1450*, (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 392-96. The oldest surviving cartulary in the Durham Archives is the *Cartuarium Vetus*, compiled c. 1230. Where possible original charters have been used and references given to copies and printed editions.

22. As has been seen, the monks of Durham were not averse to manufacturing documents where there was a deficiency. See above cap.5, pp. 221-4

23. See A.J. Piper, 'The *Cartuarium Vetus*; A Preliminary Guide', (1975).

24. The monastic recolonisation of the North of England has been traced by D. Baker in, 'The Desert in the North', NH, v, (1970), pp. 1-11.

25. Many of the cartularies for the Northern religious houses have been printed by the Surtees Society. For example, *The Cartulary of Brinkburn*, ed. W. Page, (SS, 90, [1892]); *Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains*, ed. J.S. Walbran, (SS, 42, vol.i, [1862]); *Guisborough Cartulary*, ed. W. Brown, (SS, 86, 89, [1891]); *The Newminster Cartulary*, ed. J.T. Fowler, (SS, 66, [1876]) and *The Cartulary of Rievaulx (Cartuarium Rievallense)*, ed. J.C. Atkinson, (SS, 83, [1887]).

26. For material relating to the Brus Fee, see EYC, II, nos. 647-776, pp. 1-112.

27. For an introduction to the Baliol family, see Sir Charles Clay, ed., *Early Yorkshire Families*, (YAS, 1973), pp. 3-4. Barnard Castle was named after Bernard de Balliol I, (d. c.1150). (See D.J. Cathcart-King,

Castellarium Anglicanum; An Index and Bibliography of the castles of England, Wales and the Islands, p. 134).

28. In 1154 Hugh du Puiset acquired the mines of Weardale from Stephen, Durham DC, 1.1. Reg. 16, ptd. HDST, App. xxvii, pp. xxxiii-iv.

29. Bishop Hugh promised Richard I 600 marks in addition to exchanging six episcopal fees in Lincolnshire for the wapentake; (...in excambium pro servicio feodi trium militum quod Philippus de Kime de ipso Episcopo in Lyncolnsyr tenebat, et pro feodo duorum militum quod Girardus de Canvill de eodem tenebat, et pro feodo unius militis quod Baldwinus Wac et filius Rogeri de Osevilla ibidem de eodem tenebat., HDST, App. xl, p. lx, taken from DC Durham Cart. I, f. 248.

30. Norham had been a resting-place of St Cuthbert's body, (see above, cap. 2, p. 36. Islandshire was the ancient Northumbrian land division immediately adjacent to Holy Island. Bedlingtonshire had been acquired by Bishop Cuthbert in the early tenth century, (HSC, s. 21, in SMO, I, p. 208. See above cap. 2, p. 46 and note 67).

31. For the background to the revolt of Robert de Mowbray, see F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 346-59.

32. See above, cap. 5 pp. 214-6

33. W.E. Kapelle has described the establishment of these baronies in, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, cap. 7, 'Henry I's New Men in the North', pp. 191-230.

34. For a biographical description of this group, see Judith Green, *The Government of England under Henry I*, (Cambridge, 1986), [Biographical Appendix].

35. Compare the policy of the West Saxon kings towards Northumbria. In order to reduce the possibility of rebellion in the North, Alfred's successors controlled appointments to the Archbishopric of York and the earldom of Northumbria. See, Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes, (London, 1959), pp. 70-88.

36. 'David, the queen's brother' had been brought up at the English court from 1093. Around 1114, Henry I gave him in marriage, Countess Matilda de Senliz, advancing David, now Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, at once to the foremost rank of the baronage. See G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, p. 173.

37. RB, pp. 415-418.

38. For the Bishop of Durham's estates in Lincolnshire, see *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, eds. C.W. Foster and T. Longley, (Lincolnshire Record Soc., 19, 1924). The Yorkshire fee of the Bishop of Durham is in EYC, II, nos. 918-1000, pp. 256-324.

39. H.M. Chew, *English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief*, pp. 19, 21, 32, 33. By comparison, Lincoln, Winchester and Canterbury owed a *servicium debitum* of 60 knights, Worcester 50, Norwich 40 and London 20. See the table produced by Helena Chew, p. 19.
40. Robert de Amundeville and the son of Bertram de Bulmer held fees for which they owed the service of five knights each in 1166. Gilbert *camerarius* had been enfeoffed *de novo* with a tenth part of one knight's fee. RB, pp. 417, 418.
41. Twenty-one out of a total of thirty-one tenants owed the service of at least one knight.
42. *Elyas de Eschaulande, ii militum et ii^{aa} partis unius; Galfridus filius Ricardi, i militis et dimidii*, RB, p. 417.
43. The fees of Roger de Conyers, William de Vesey, Robert de Amundeville, the son of Bertram de Bulmer, William fitz Osbert, Thomas fitz William, Roman de Hylton, Elias Escolland, Roger de Audre, and Geoffrey fitz Richard.
44. Adam de Musters, Hugh fitz Pinceon, William de Fishburn, William of Hepden, Roger of Eppleton, Ralph of Worcester, Henry de Papedy, Stephen de Bulmer, Geoffrey fitz Humphrey, Hugh Burel and Richard de Scialis.
45. Geoffrey de Torpe, Ralph Haget, the son of Luke de Kevelane, Odo de Brembe, the son of Ilger de Burdon, Robert de Capella, Gilbert de la Leia, Gilbert *Camerarius*, John Pincerna and Ralph fitz Robert.
46. On this question see, for example, R. Mortimer, 'Land and Service', pp. 191-194.
47. Bishop Hugh's *carta* states, '*...quot milites feffatos haberemus de veteri feffamento et de novo, scilicet, anno et die, quo rex H[enricus] fuit vivus et mortuus, et de post mortem eius*'. RB, p. 416.
48. G.V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, cap. v, 'The Liberty of Durham', pp. 183-241, esp. pp. 222-241.
49. See Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, pp. 225-227.
50. Mortimer, 'Land and Service', p. 179.
51. William de Etona's half fee probably lay at *Heton iuxta castrum*, [Norham] and Jordan Ridel's lay at Tillmouth (*Tillemue*), BF, I, p. 27.
52. (ie) fees of Robert de Capella, Gilbert de la Leie, Gilbert *Camerarius*, John Pincerna, Ralph fitz Richard.
53. On the question of the relationship of land to the amount of knight service owed, see, for example J.C. Holt, 'The Introduction of Knight Service in England', ANS, vi, (1983), pp. 89-106.

54. On the enfeoffment of Papedy, see below, p.283 Roger de Audrey and Ingeram de Ulecotes appear as each holding half of Ancroft, Allerdean and Felkington in the returns for 1208-10, (BF, I, pp. 26-7).

55. For example, DC Durham, 4.1. Pont. 15, a charter of Bishop Geoffrey-Rufus. (Ptd., Offler, DEC, no. 29, p. 122.

56. F.M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, cap. III, 'The Honorial Baronage', pp. 84-114.

57. Stenton, *First Century*, p. 98.

58. All vassals of a lord, whether high or low, were bound to him through the personal ties of homage; see Stenton, *First Century*, p. 96.

59. Among the most frequent witnesses to the *acta* of Bishop Hugh was Gilbert *camerarius* who held only fractional fees in 1166. His household duties evidently kept him at the Bishop's side during meetings of the honorial baronage. See Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, pp. 207, 232.

60. See below, p.282 The original document recording Bishop Rannulf's grant of the manor of Middleham to his *nepos* does not survive, but, in 1146, Osbert granted the church of Middleham to St Cuthbert as lord of the estate. See Offler, DEC, nos. 26 (b), p. 115 and 35 (a), pp. 140-1.

61. For example, DC Durham 2.1. Pont. 1, (Charter of Bishop Rannulf), [DEC no. 24, pp. 107-8] ; DC Durham, 4.1. Pont. 18, (Charter of Bishop William of Ste Barbe), [DEC, no. 42, pp. 167-68].

62. In addition to the Gilbert *camerarius* mentioned above, William the chamberlain appears in the majority of the surviving *acta* of Bishop Rannulf. (eg. DEC, nos. 12, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25).

63. Stenton was speaking of the baronage of Henry I which included men of obscure origins. ('They were barons because it pleased the king to treat them as such'. *First Century*, p. 86).

64. The 'tenurial revolution' which accompanied the Norman settlement of England has been debated by Robin Fleming, 'Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution', ANS, IX, , and by P.H. Sawyer, '1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?' in , ed. P.H. Sawyer *Domesday Book; A Reassessment*.

65. See above, cap. 3, pp. 121-3

66. Symeon, HDE, I, pp. 98-99.

67. See above, cap. 3, pp. 115ff.

68. Ligulf's career was outlined by the author of the *Historia Regum*, (SMO, II, pp. 208-9). He married Alghitha daughter of earl Aldred of the House of Bamburgh and was, therefore, in a position to have of considerable use to Bishop Walcher.

69. The events leading up to Walcher's murder have been discussed above, cap. 3., pp. 117ff.

70. See below, cap. 7, pp 324-35. William I's expedition to Scotland in 1072 resulted in Malcolm III's homage at Abernethy. In 1080 Robert Curthose led an inconclusive expedition, the main achievement of which was the construction of the *novum castrum* at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, (HR, II, p. 211).
71. W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, p. 193 and note 7. Cf I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies; A Study of their Origin and Descent*, p. 109.
72. *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi Episcopi*, in EHD, ii, no. 84, p. 612.
73. *De Iniusta Vexatione*, EHD, ii, p. 617.
74. Edgar's charter survives only as a copy, Durham DC Miscellaneous Charters, 559, [See J. Donnelly, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters?', SHR, LXVIII, (1989), pp. 1-22 at p. 7].
75. On the 'shires' of Berwick and Coldingham, see G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 28, 30-32, [Maps 3,4, on pp. 30, 31].
76. See below, pp. 292-3
77. Ilger of Cornforth witnesses DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 6, [DEC, no. 12, p. 75]. Professor Offler argued [DEC, p. 76] that, as Cornforth later formed part of the manor of Middleham, '...possibly Ilger held this fee before Osbert'. On Osbert's enfeoffment see above, p. 282
78. Donnelly, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters?' pp. 20-21. Cf. A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters', SHR, XXXVII, (1958), pp. 103-35.
79. Above, cap. 4, pp. 152-6
80. In 1093, Robert de Mowbray ambushed and killed Malcolm III and his eldest son, Edward, near the river Aln. (HR, II, p. 222).
81. The surviving *acta* have been collected by Professor Offler in *Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071-1152*, (SS, vol. 179, [1968]).
82. *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Stevenson, (SS, 13, [1841]), *passim*. The *Liber Vitae* has also been issued in collotype facsimile by the Surtees Society, ed. A.H. Thompson, (SS, 136, [1923]).
83. Printed by Offler, DEC, no. 12, p. 75; cf. nos. 11, 13, pp. 72, 82.
84. DEC, no. 25, pp. 112-13
85. See above, p. 275
86. Cornforth (NZ 315345) in the parish of Bishop Middleham.
87. It is possible that Ilger died *sine prole* and, therefore, enabled Bishop Rannulf to grant Middleham to Osbert.

88. See the chart in EYC, II, p. 128.
89. RB, p. 417. Bertram's son, William was, presumably, a minor in 1166 as the *carta* for the Bulmer fee in Yorkshire was returned by David *lardarius*. See EYC, II, no. 777, pp. 113-117.
90. Guy de Humet held land of the Brancepeth estate and witnessed charters of William of Ste Barbe and Hugh du Puiset. See DEC, p. 166 and the reference there to LVD, f. 33, '*...Samson, Ricard, Will, Gwido de humez et parentes eorum*'. [LVD, ed. Stevenson, pp. 31-2].
91. Ravensworth Deed, no. 1; (Printed DEC, no. 23, pp. 100-101). (Lower) Eighton, [NZ 265579]; (Old) Ravensworth, [NZ 232578] both lay in the chapelry of Lamesley. Blakiston lay in the parish of Norton. For the location of these places and the others mentioned in the text, see R.N. Hadcock, 'A Map of Medieval Durham and Northumberland', AA, 4th series, xvi, (1939).
92. DEC, p. 105.
93. See above, cap. 5, p. 236, n. 173.
94. For Flambard's policies at Lisieux, see R.W. Southern, 'Rannulf Flambard' in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, p. 198.
95. DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 6, (cf. 2.1. Pont. 7 and 7*), [printed by Offler, DEC, nos. 11-13, pp. 72, 75, 82]. Houghall Farm lies south of Durham [NZ 281405], the two Herringtons (West and East) lie in the parish of Houghton-le-Spring, [NZ 348532, (West); 365532, (East)], Harraton in the parish of Chester-le-Street. Hawthorn lies to the south of this block in the parish of Easington, [NZ 419455].
96. RB, p. 417.
97. DC Durham, 3.1. Pont. 5. (Printed in SD, I, ii, p. 181). Noted by Offler, DEC, p. 74.
98. DC Durham, 2.1. Reg. 12; CV ff. 45v-46r, [printed, FPD, p. 145n; RRAN, II, no. 1586].
99. DC Durham, 2.1. Reg. 10; CV f. 47r. [ptd. FPD, p. 145n; RRAN, II, no. 1604].
100. See FPD, pp. 145-46nn. DC Durham, 2.10. Spec. 12, a charter of Marmeduke fitz Geoffrey, quitclaimed Blakiston to the Convent, *...quod est de feodo eorundem Prioris et Conventus*. [FPD, p. 146n].
101. DC Durham, 3.7. Spec. 16 [Charter of Roger's wife Emma recording the grant to Philip fitz Hamol]; 3.7. Spec. 15 [Roger of Eppleton's grant to Thomas fitz Hamol]. (Printed FPD, pp. 123-24nn).
102. Geoffrey fitz Richard's confirmation of the grant to Philip fitz Hamo is DC Durham, 3.7. Spec. 22, [FPD, pp. 124-25nn] and his own grants to Philip were recorded in DC Durham, 3.7. Spec. 21, 23. [FPD, p. 125n].

103. DEC, p. 105.

104. DC Durham, 3.7. Spec. 23. [FPD, p. 125n].

105. Osbert appears in the following as 'sheriff'; DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 10=CV, ff. 133v-134r, [DEC, no. 17, pp. 87-88], 2.1. Pont. 11=CV f. 134r, [DEC, no. 20, p. 94], 1.2. Pont. 1=CV ff. 135v-136r, [DEC, no. 35, pp. 138-39], 3. 12. Spec. 2=CV ff. 79v-80r, [DEC, no. 35(b), pp. 140-41], 1.2. Pont. 3=C II, f. 54v, [DEC, no. 38, pp. 155-156], Newcastle Central Reference Library, Greenwell Deed, D2, [DEC, no. 40, p. 162; Calendar of Greenwell Deeds, no. 1, p. 1], DC Durham, 4.1. Pont. 18=CV f. 135v, [DEC, no. 42, p. 167], *Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievalle* (SS, 83, [1889]), no. 52, p. 28.

106. Osbert witnesses as *nepos episcopi* the following; DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 3b=CV f. 134v, [DEC, no. 15, p. 84], 2.3.3. Finch. 6, [DEC, no. 22, p. 97]; Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Ravensworth Deed, no. 1, [DEC, no. 23, p. 101]; DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 1=CV ff. 133r-v, [DEC, no. 24, pp. 107-8], 2.1. Pont. 2=CV ff. 132v-133r, [DEC, no. 25, pp. 112-113], 3. 12. Spec. 1, [Grant by Osbert to St Cuthbert of the Church of Middleham, DEC no. 35a, pp. 139-140], Durham Univ. Library, Mickleton and Spearman ms. no. 36, f. 116, [DEC, no. 26e, p. 117], DC Durham, 4.1. Pont. 15=CV ff. 135r-v, [DEC, no. 29, p. 122], 4.1. Pont. 17=CV f. 135v, [DEC, no. 30, p. 125], DC Durham Prior's Register II, f. 184v, [DEC, no. 31, pp. 126-7].

107. DC Durham, 3. 12. Spec. 1, [DEC, no. 35a, p. 139].

108. *Consideratione rationis et eximie pietatis qua pater meus ecclesiam et monachos reverentissimi confessoris Cuthberti semper excoluit dum vixit...*, DC Durham, 3. 12. Spec. 2, [DEC, no. 35b, pp. 140-41], Charter of *Radulfus filius Rannulfi Dunelmensis episcopi*.

109. RB, p. 417.

110. DC Durham, 4.1. Pont. 15=CV ff. 135r-v, [DEC, no. 29, p. 122] and 4.1. Pont. 1=CV f. 135v, [DEC, no. 30, p. 125]. Thomas also witnesses DEC, no. 31, pp. 126-27.

111. Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, cap. xlix, pp. 101-4.

112. The formidable Prior Bertram (1189-1212), for example, was a descendant of Bishop Rannulf according to the chronicler, Geoffrey of Coldingham, (HDST, p. 8).

113. According to the *Continuatio Prima* of Symeon's HDE, Bishop Rannulf built Norham ... *in excelso praeruptae rupis super Twedam flumen, ut inde latronum incursus inhiheret, et Scottorum irruptiones*, Symeon, I, p. 140. The site commands a ford over the river Tweed.

114. HR, in SMO, II, pp. 260.

115. Bishop Rannulf's charter, DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 11, begins, *R. Dunelmensis episcopus Papfeldleu vicecomiti de Norham salutem*. [DEC, no. 20, p. 94].
116. Flambard's charters, DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 4 and 10, are addressed to S. W' de Alrikar and S. de [Alrlik[ar] respectively. [DEC, nos. 16, 17, pp. 86, 87]. Alrikar is Ellerker, one of the berewicks of the episcopal manor of Welton. [DE, i, f.304b].
117. Edward *monachus* seems to have acted in some official capacity in Islandshire and Norhamshire. He was among the addressees to Flambard's charter recording the enfeoffment of Papedy. According to Reginald of Durham, Edward had his own *dapifer* and was responsible for the refoundation of the Priory on Lindisfarne. [Reginald, *Libellus*, cap. xxi, pp. 44-47]. Flambard's writ addressed to ...*alle his eines 7 drenges of Ealondscire 7 of Norhalmscire*, is DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 9, [DEC, no. 18, p. 89].
118. DEC, no. 18, pp. 91-2. The original is in the County Record Office, Durham.
119. Durham Univ. Library, Mickleton and Spearman ms. no. 36, f. 116, [DEC, no. 26e, pp. 116-117].
120. RB, p. 417 (1166); BF, i, pp. 26-27 (1208-10).
121. *Rogerus de Audrei tenet medietatem ville de Anecroft et medietatem de Felkindon' et medietatem de Alvereden et facit inde servicium dimidii militis. Ingeramus de Hulecot' tenent alteram medietatem de Anecroft et de Felkindon' et de Alveredene et facit inde servicium dimidii militis*. BF, i, pp. 26-27.
122. ed. F.S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia*, V, Ep. 442, p. 389.
123. PR 31 Henry I, p. 43.
124. See PR 31 Henry I, pp. 128-32. Greenwell appended a translation of this section of the Pipe Roll for 31 Henry I, to his edition of *Boldon Buke*, (SS, 25, (1852)), Appendix I, pp. i-iii.
125. DC Durham, 2.1. Reg. 10=CV f. 47r, [RRAN, II, no. 1604; FPD, p. 145n].
126. Geoffrey Escolland witnesses DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 6, [DEC, no. 12, p. 75]; DEC, no. 19, pp. 91-2, and Greenwell Deed, D2, [DEC, no. 40, p. 162].
127. RB, p. 417.
128. Cf. DC Durham, CV f. 84r, [FPD, p. 121n]. Dalton, [NZ 408481], Seaham, [NZ 425495] and Seaton, [NZ 396499] lie on the Durham coast, due east of Chester-le-Street
129. For example, DC Durham 3.7. Spec. 15, [FPD, p. 124n].

130. Reginald of Durham, *De vita et miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitiae de Finchale*, (SS, 20, [1845]), ed. J. Stevenson, pp. 469-70. By 1264 the family had acquired Consett, [*Conkysheud*], [*Hatfield's Survey*, p. xvl].

131. The Conyers family may have originated, as Offler suggested [DEC, p. 77], near Anctoville, dépt. Calvados, cant. Caumont. In the 18th century Anctoville was known as Cornières and the form in *Cosneriis* occurs in *Recueil*, no. 231, p. 445. For the 1166 tenant see RB, p. 417.

132. DEC, p. 77.

133. DB i, 304b.

134. RRAN, II, no. 546.

135. Surtees stated that Roger de Conyers was said '...to have been constable of Durham under William I and William of St Calais.' [SD, III, p. 247]. This seems to be far too early given that it has not been established that the Conyers were in the bishopric before 1100. Perhaps Surtees assumed that, since the office of constable was granted to Roger II de Conyers by Bishop William of Ste Barbe in *feodum et hereditatem*, it had been in the family's hands since the 1080s. Did Surtees assign William of Ste Barbe's grant, [DEC, no. 41, pp. 164-5], to William of St Calais?

136. See map. p. 285

137. EYC, II, no. 944, p. 283.

138. RB, p. 417.

139. Sockburn, [NZ 348074], which became the *caput* of the Conyers fee in Durham, is documented as the site of an important monastic church. Its history as the centre of an estate in southern County Durham may, therefore, date back to before 850. See Eric Cambridge, 'The Early Church in County Durham: A Reassessment', JBAA, 137, (1984), pp. 65-82.

140. EYC, II, no. 945, p. 284.

141. *Elinchit* identified by Farrer as Auckland St Helen, [EYC, II, no. 945, p. 284]. The form is not noticed by Mawer in *The Place-names of Durham and Northumberland*, sv 'Auckland'.

142. EYC, II, no. 945, p. 284.

143. ...et Alclett quam tenet de Petro de Humet..., EYC, II, no. 944, p. 283. One of the witnesses to Henry II's charter recording the findings of his inquiry into the Conyers' inheritance was Richard de Humet possibly a relative of Peter, [see EYC, II, no. 945, p. 284].

144. Ralph of Winchester witnesses DEC, nos. 12, 22, 24 and 25. His son, Robert witnesses a charter of William of Ste Barbe, [DEC, no. 44, pp. 172-73], which recorded the Bishop's confirmation of the gift of salt

works and a fishery to the monks of Newminster by Robert and his wife Alisia, daughter of Robert Bertram. The Bertrams were major benefactors of the abbey, see *The Newminster Cartulary*, ed. J.T. Fowler, (SS, 66, [1876]), p. xi et passim.

145. D. J. Hall, 'Community', p. 144.

146. RRAN, II, no. 1825.

147. *Et testor et affirmo quod Robertus de Bethlington eum fecit heredem totius terre sue in presentia mea.* [DEC, no. 41, pp. 164-65, at p. 165].

148. *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, (RS, 1867), I, pp. 160-161.

149. *Decedente nuper Willelmo episcopo, Rogerius de Coineres, ex regis imperio, super episcopalia iuris praedia et territoria providentiae sollicitudinem habuit; qui et potentes imperando cohercuit, impotes subiugando oppressit, et ad sui domini libitum multa subiiciendo inflexit*, Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, cap. L, p. 104.

150. Individuals of the Conyers family witness charters of the Brus family, for example, Robert de Brus' grant to St Cuthbert of the chapel of Eden on his fee of Hartness was witnessed by *Rogerus de Cogn'*, [DC Durham, 3.8. Spec. 9, (FPD, p. 131-2nn). Cf. *Newminster Cartulary*, p. 270, a charter of Roger de Merlay witnessed by William and Henry de Conyers. In Scotland, a Roger de Conyers appeared in a declaration by Archbishop Thurstan of York concerning a compromise over professions of obedience with Bishop Robert of St Andrews in 1128, [ESC, no. 76. Roger appears as *Rogero de Eummers* in ESC, no. 75, [I owe this reference to Professor Barrow].

151. Sir Charles Clay, *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 22, sv 'Conyers' and the references there.

152. The Conyers' falchion (a broad-bladed sword), which was passed to the Bishop as a sign of his authority is preserved in the treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

153. Surtees, SD, III, p. 243.

154. See EYC, II, p. 128.

155. Sir A. Oliver, 'The Family of Muschamps, Barons of Wooler', AA, 4th series, xiv, pp. 246-48.

156. BB, p. 24.

157. Radulf de Audre was the nephew of Ralph Haget. DC Durham, 3.7. Spec. 7, [FPD, p. 136n] recorded Ralph Haget's grant to *Radulfo de Audree nepoti meo* of land in Hulam in the parish of Monk Hesleden. Among the witnesses was Roger de Audre. Ralph Haget was sheriff of Durham c.

1153-80, see C.H. Hunter Blair, 'The Sheriffs of County Durham', AA, 4th series, xxii, (1944), p. 33.

158. DC Durham, 4.16. Spec. 124, grant of the chapel of St Bartholomew, *Croxteill* to St Cuthbert by Roger *Daudr'*, [CV, f. 87v, and see ff. 87v-88r, DC Durham 2.14. Spec. 18]. In 1264, *Sir Walter de Audrey demorant a Brunynghill*, [Hatfield's Survey, p. xiv]. Croxdale, [NZ267370] and Burnigill nearby, [NZ 258378] lie about two miles to the east of Brancepeth.

159. The Vescy family remained powerful throughout the twelfth century and Eustace de Vesci, lord of Alnwick was one of the key figures in the revolt against John, [W.L. Warren, *King John*, pp. 228ff].

160. RB, p. 417.

161. See I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies; A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327*, [Oxford, 1960], p. 103, sv Alnwick.

162. In 1208-10 Eus tace de Vesci held at *Werkesale et in Landemot*, and also at *Elmedene*, BF, I, pp. 24, 28.

163. *Percy Chartulary*, ed. M.T. Martin, [SS, 117, (1909)], p. 293.

164. For the barony of Ellingham see, Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 41. The charters concerning the grant of the church of Ellingham to St Cuthbert are printed in FPD, pp. 99-103nn.

165. Oliver, 'Family of Muschamps', pp. 248-49.

166. For example, none of the episcopal *acta* from before 1152 are witnessed by William de Vesci.

167. Sir Charles Clay, 'Notes on the Family of Amundeville', AA, 4th series, xxiv, (1946), p. 66. The Amundevilles may have taken their name from Mondeville, dépt. Calvados, arr. and cant. Caen, Clay, 'Notes', p. 77.

168. PR 31 Henry I, p. 36. On the possible location of the lands in question, *Hectona* and *Hasteleia*, see Clay, 'Notes', p. 61 and Offler, DEC, p. 77

169. *Boldon Buke*, Appendix I, pp. i-iii.

170. FPD, pp. 56-57nn.

171. In 1264, *Sir Robert de Amondevill demorant a Wotton in Werdale*, [Hatfield's Survey, p. xiv]. In 1189 Hugh du Puiset acquired the lordship of the Amundeville fees in the wapentake of Sadberge. See Richard I's charter, *...et servicium Thomæ de Amundevyll et heredum suorum de feodo unius militis de Cotham et Treiford...*, (HDST, Appendix XL, pp.lix-lx).

172. John of Hexham, *Historia XXV Annorum*, in SMO II, p. 316.

173. Bishop Geoffrey-Rufus' grant, DEC, no. 31, pp. 126-27; William of Ste Barbe's *acta*, DEC, nos. 34, 39, 40, 42.

174. PR 31 Henry I, pp. 31, 132-33.

175. Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 119.

176. Robert of Bedlington's grant was confirmed by Bishop William of Ste Barbe, DEC, no. 41, pp. 164-65. See above, p.

177. See above, p. 281

178. For example, Alexander of Hylton, witnesses DC Durham, 2.4. Spec. 2, [FPD, p. 113n], 3.7. Spec. 16, [FPD, p. 124n] and 3.6. Spec. 18, [FPD, p. 142n], dated 1185. Alexander had succeeded his father by 1172 as, in that year, Bishop Hugh arbitrated a dispute between the Hyltons and the Convent, (see Scammell, HDP, pp. 119-20). *Robertus de Helton miles filius Alexandri...* granted his land in the South Bailey of Durham city to St Cuthbert, DC Durham, 1.16. Spec. 55, [FPD, p. 197n].

179. William witnesses DEC, nos. 12, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26e, and 29, all of which, except no. 29, were *acta* of Bishop, Rannulf.

180. Geoffrey-Rufus' grant [DEC, no. 32b, p. 128], now not extant, was confirmed by King Stephen, (Central Reference Library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Greenwell Deed, D3). See DEC, no. 32c, pp. 129-130.

181. RB, p. 417. See DEC, p. 129. Bishop Hugh's grant of Plawsworth is Greenwell Deed, no. D4; *Calendar of Greenwell Deeds*, no. 5, p. 3.

182. Scammell, HDP, p. 232.

183. DC Durham, 3.7. Spec. 16, [FPD, p. 124n]. The witnesses include; *Aliz Darel, Emma uxore Rogeri Daudrei, Aliz Burdun, Galiene et Petronilla sorore sua, Juliana uxore Gileberti camerarii, Christina Escolland, Mahaud sorore Philippi...*

184. *Andreas i[d est] Pinceon daplifer*, LVD, f. 47v. For his fees in Lincolnshire, see *Lindsey Survey* pp. 248, 253-55, 257. See DEC, p. 98 and p. 2 for the suggestion that he was the heir of Baldgyth who was granted the estates of Thornley and Wingate. If this was the case then Hugh fitz Pinceon represents another Northumbrian family which retained a position of influence within the Patrimony of St Cuthbert.

185. DC Durham, 2.3.3. Finch. 6, [DEC, no. 22, p. 97].

186. See below.

187. HDE, *Cont. Prima*, I, p. 158.

188. HDE, *Cont. Prima*, I, p. 150. A *motte*, possibly marking the site of Roger de Conyers fortification survives, see aerial photograph of the site in N. McCord, *Durham History from the Air*, [Durham County Local History Soc., (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1971), p. 16.

189. Hugh fitz Pinceon's treachery is described in HDE, *Cont. Prima*, pp. 156-7. He captured Robert de Amundeville and betrayed the castle of Thornley whilst Cumin and his nephew held the upper hand, [p. 157]. See A. Young, 'William Cumin; Border Politics and the Bishopric of Durham 1141-44', (University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Paper no. 54).

190. William Rufus did establish a peasant colony at Carlisle after its capture in 1092. See A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, pp. 16-18.

191. See G.T. Lapsley's analysis of the various divisions of the peasantry as revealed by Boldon Book, VCH, Durham, i, pp. 249-341, esp. 279-295.

192. See J.C. Holt, 'What's In a Name. Family Nomenclature and the Norman Conquest', [University of Reading, Stenton Lecture, 1981].

193. DC Durham, 4.9. Spec. 30, [FPD, pp. 141-42nn]. *Clibert* is a name which is found nowhere outside Durham and Yorkshire, thus arguing strongly for local origins for the family of Roger of Kibblesworth, [see Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, [Nomina Germanica, 3, (Stockholm, 1937), p. 216].

194. On drengage tenure, see Lapsley, VCH, I, pp. 284-91.

195. DC Durham, 4.1. Pont. 15, (DEC, no. 29, pp. 122-23).

196. A *Rogerus Dreng* appears among the witnesses to a notification by Prior Lawrence and the Convent dated to c. 1149-54, [Greenwell Deed, D1, (DEC, no. 32d, pp. 130-31)]. Was this dreng Roger of Kibblesworth?

197. See above, p. 284; DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 9, (DEC, no. 18, p. 89).

198. *Boldon Buke*, Appendix I, pp. i-ii.

199. DC Durham, Misc. Ch. 366, [SD, III, p. 67].

200. Alan, son of Ulkill *de Hotun*, for example, [Hutton Henry, (Monk Hesleden)] occurs in DC Durham, 3.8. Spec. 11, [FPD, 134n] as the recipient of land in Eden on the occasion of his marriage to Emma, daughter of the grantor, William of Thorpe. Hugh fitz Uhtred, (FPD, p. 22n); William fitz Meldred, (FPD, p. 146n); Richard fitz Lyolf, (FPD, p. 115n).

201. DC Durham, 3.10. Spec. 1, 3, (FPD, p. 45n).

202. DC Durham, 3.10. Spec. 49, (FPD, p. 146n).

203. See fig. 6.5

204. For example, Gamel, who held one bovat in Burdon, (DC Durham, 3.10. Spec. 4., [FPD, p. 147n]); Cospatric, who held 2 bovates, (3.10. Spec. 13, [FPD, p. 147n]. The ethnic origins of other sub-tenants is

difficult to establish with certainty as Englishmen may have adopted Norman names.

205. DC Durham, Cart. II, f. 186b, [FPD, p. 56n].

206. DC Durham, 2.1. Pont. 6, (DEC, no. 12, p. 75).

207. See DEC, nos. *3, *3a, pp. 8, 17.

208. DC Durham, 2.11. Spec. 3 [Newsham]; 2.11. Spec. 1, 2 [Osmondcroft], both in the parish of Winston.

209. Cf. C.T. Clay, 'A Note on the Neville Ancestry', *Antiquaries Journal*, 31 (1951).

210. See, for example, Bishop Hugh's charters, DC Durham, 3.1. Pont. 20=CV f. 139r, [FPD, p. 182n] and 4.1. Pont. 5=CV f. 139v, [FPD, p. lxxxvii] which have the names of Geoffrey fitz Richard, Alexander de Hylton, Thomas fitz William, Roger de Aldre, Roger de Conyers, Jordan Escolland and Roger of Eppleton among the witnesses.

211. See Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, pp. 199-202.

212. For example Robert II de Brus' gift of the chapel at Eden mentioned above, p. 265

Chapter 7.

Haec est conventio quam Conventus sancti Cuthberti Malcolmo regi scottorum et Margaritæ reginæ filiisque eorum et filiabus se perpetuo servare promisit. The relationship between the Church of St Cuthbert and the Kings of Scotland circa 1054-1154.

A memorandum inserted into the text of the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis* begins,

Haec est conventio quam conventus sancti Cuthberti Malcom regi scottorum et Margaritae reginae filiisque eorum et filiabus se perpetuo servare promisit [1].

The *conventio* recorded the privileges of confraternity conferred upon the Scottish king, Malcolm III, (1054/7-1093), and his wife, Margaret, (died, 1093) by the Prior and monks of the Church of St Cuthbert at Durham. The text suggests that the agreement was made between the foundation of the Convent in 1083 and the deaths of Malcolm and Margaret in 1093 [2]. The monks pledged themselves to clothe and feed a pauper on each day that the royal couple were alive and, on their behalf, the Convent would support two indigents on Maundy Thursday. A collect was to be said for the spiritual welfare of the king and queen and whilst they were alive, and posthumously, they and their sons and daughters,

...participes sint omnium quae fiant ad servitium Dei in monasterio Sancti Cuthberti, missarum videlicet, psalmorum, elemosinarum, vigiliarum, orationum, et quicquid est huiusmodi. [3]

Once the royal couple had departed this life, the monks pledged to remember them in thirty full offices of the dead, and, each day, the *Verba Mea* would be performed for them with every priest singing thirty masses and 'each of the rest' singing ten psalters [4]. Finally, the monks would commemorate the anniversary of Malcolm and Margaret in the same way in which they preserved remembrance of King Athelstan, the Queen's illustrious ancestor [5].

The *conventio* recorded the establishment of a close spiritual bond between the Scots royal family and the reconstituted monastic Church of St Cuthbert. It forms one of a series of such documents dating from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the majority of which refer to bonds of confraternity with other monastic institutions, such as Westminster and Christ Church, Canterbury [6]. In the case of laymen such privileges were usually only accorded to individuals who had made gifts to St Cuthbert. For example, Athelstan's substantial donations recorded in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* clearly justified his inclusion in the monks' prayers [7]. However, an examination of Malcolm III's dealings with the Church of Durham seems not to provide evidence of the Scots King's respect for the people and property of St Cuthbert.

The monks of Durham extended their prayers to Malcolm and Margaret's sons and daughters. Four of Malcolm's sons reigned in Scotland after his death; Duncan II, (1094x1097), Edgar, (1097x1107), Alexander, (1107x1124) and David I, (1124x1153) [8]. Each of them had contact with the Church of St Cuthbert and it is this relationship between the bishopric of Durham and the Scottish kings of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries that is the subject of the following chapter.

The see of St Cuthbert was the northern-most diocese of the English Church and, until the assertion of the rights of the Bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow and Carlisle in the twelfth century, it claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction which extended northward, across the river Tweed into Lothian, as well as westward into Cumbria [9]. In addition the Bishops of Durham, as has been seen, were closely associated with the secular government of the North of England [10]. For example, the

ties between the earls of Northumbria and the Church of St Cuthbert were brought together on a personal level by the marriage of earl Uhtred and Bishop Aldhun's daughter, Ecgfritha [11]. It was Uhtred and the 'whole population between the rivers Coquet and Tees' who helped the *Congregatio* clear the site at Durham at the end of the tenth century [12]. Durham became one of the few heavily defended strongholds in the North-East of England providing shelter, for example, from the Scots army led by Malcolm's father, Duncan I in 1039 [13].

The geographical distribution of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert made it inevitable that the Church of Durham would suffer materially during any invasion from the North or North-West [14]. Durham lay directly in the path of any Scots army heading for York and its property in Norhamshire and Islandshire was the first cultivated land an invader encountered on crossing the river Tweed. The Church of St Cuthbert had, therefore, a vital interest in the course of the relations between the Scots and English kingdoms. Although the recognised border lay to the north, along the Tweed in Northumberland, the heartland of the Patrimony remained vulnerable [15].

Any investigation of the Church of St Cuthbert's relations with Scotland must overcome the obstacles thrown up by national sentiment. Durham, inevitably, is described as part of England and its Bishops, especially in the later Medieval period, with, perhaps, more justification, are seen as Marcher Lords defending the North of England against the Scots [16]. One thing to have emerged from the foregoing discussion of the Church of St Cuthbert is the sense of separateness displayed by the *Haliwerfolc*. Their allegiance was to St Cuthbert and not, necessarily, to any other power. The population of the Patrimony

were neither Englishmen, nor yet Northumbrians, but the people of the Holy man, the *Haliwerfolc*. They feared invading armies from whichever direction they came. During the period 1070 to 1154 as much devastation was caused to the lands of St Cuthbert by the Norman armies approaching from the south as by the Scots armies from the north [17].

Whatever local opinion was, the bishopric of Durham was at the centre of Anglo-Scottish relations during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. What policies did the Bishops of Durham follow during this period ? Did the Church of St Cuthbert share in the 'Normanisation of Scotland' which is usually assigned to David's reign ? And, finally, was the relationship between the monks of Durham and the Scots royal house as cordial as the *conventio* suggests ?

Malcolm III's father, Duncan I, was deposed and killed by Macbeth after his return from the unsuccessful^s siege of Durham in 1039 [18]. Malcolm fled to earl Siward and, after a period of exile at the English court, he was placed on the Scots throne by a Northumbrian army in 1054 [19]. By 1058 Malcolm had secured his position in Scotland by defeating and killing Macbeth and Lulach. In the following year Malcolm was accompanied to Edward's court by the three most important figures in the North of England, Archbishop Cynsige of York, Earl Tostig of Northumbria and Egelwin, Bishop of Durham [20]. It seems that this escort was a traditional duty incumbent upon the Bishop. In c. 971-975, for example, Kenneth II of Scotland was conducted to Edgar's court by the earls of York and Northumbria, together with Bishop Elfsi of Chester-le-Street [21]. Similarly, in 1068, Bishop Egelwin was the intermediary in negotiations between William I and Malcolm III [22]. This suggests that

the Bishop of Durham was considered the appropriate figure to consult in dealings between the Kings of England and Scotland.

If Malcolm's visit in 1059 was to express his thanks to Edward for his support in gaining the Scottish crown, any sense of obligation he may have felt soon dissipated. In 1061 Malcolm began a series of invasions which were well remembered in the historical tradition of the Church of St Cuthbert. The author of the *Historia Regum* summarised Malcolm's five incursions,

Quinques namque illam atroci depopulatione attrivit et miseros indigenas in servitutem redigendos abduxit captivos. Semel Edwardo regnante, quando Tosti comes Eboracensis profectus Romam fuerat. Iterum regnante Willelmo, quando etiam Clivelandam depopulatus est. Tertio, regnante eodem rege Willelmo, usque Tynam progressus, post caedes hominum et concremationes locorum multa cuj praeda revertitur. Quarto, regnante Willelmo iuniore cum suis copiis infinitis usque Ceastram, non longe a Dunelmo sitam, pervenit, animo intendens ulterius progredi. Sed adeunta contra eum militari manu non multa, metu ipso citius revertitur. Quinto, cum omni quo potuit exercitu in ultimam deducturus desolationem, Northymbriam invasit, sed iuxta flumen Alne perimitur cum primogenito suo Edwardo, quem haeredem regni post se disposuerat. [23]

The chronicle accounts of these invasions lay great stress on the fact that the Scots were interested in booty, cattle and slaves. Dr Kapelle, however, has seen a long term strategy guiding these incursions. He suggests that Malcolm III hoped to annex large areas of the North-East of England and embarked upon this grand design as early as 1059 [24]. The visit to the English court in that year was an attempt by Edward to avoid open war by diplomatic means, and, during the negotiations, Tostig and Malcolm became 'sworn brothers' as part of a formal peace treaty. Kapelle's case is based, however, on a relatively late source, the *Vita Edwardi Regis* [25]. It seems unlikely that, immediately after

three years of struggling to secure his position in Scotland, Malcolm would embark upon a prolonged campaign against his southern neighbours. The draining of his resources within Scotland during the war against Macbeth would, however, offer a reason for plundering raids into English territory.

In 1061 Malcolm attacked Northumbria while earl Tostig was in Rome with Archbishop Aldred of York. The account of the invasion preserved by the *Historia Regum* specifically mentions that the Scottish king violated the *pax sancti Cuthberti* on Lindisfarne [26]. The Scots army attacked down the east coast plundering the estates of St Cuthbert in Islandshire, ignoring any immunity from attack which the annalist thought that the lands of St Cuthbert should have.

Malcolm's next attack was in 1070, but, as has been seen, Bishop Egelwin had negotiated a truce between William I and the Scots in 1068 [27]. The source for this report is Orderic Vitalis who was usually well informed on events during this period [28]. The Bishop's role in the negotiations accords with what is known of his attitude toward the Normans at this time. For example, in 1069, Egelwin warned earl Robert Cumin of the danger he faced in Durham [29]. Orderic's account seems to be vindicated by the fact that, at a time of great upheaval in the North of England, Malcolm III decided not to take advantage of the situation and invade.

Along with Durham, Scotland became a refuge for members of the defeated Anglo-Saxon nobility and among those who fled to Malcolm's court was Edgar the Atheling [30]. Around 1070 Malcolm married Edgar's sister, Margaret and his invasion of that year has been seen as the manifestation of his espousal of Edgar's cause [31]. The Scots

devastated the North-East of England by attacking through Cumbria, Teesdale, Cleveland and Holderness before turning northwards to the lands of St Cuthbert [32]. The actions of the Scots on this occasion were, according to the local chroniclers, particularly abhorrent. Earl Cospatric's counter-raid into Cumbria only succeeded in goading Malcolm's forces on to worse atrocities. The King ordered,

...ut nulli Anglicanæ gentis ulterius parcerent, sed omnes vel necando in terram funderent, vel captivando sub iugum perpetuæ servitutis abducerent. [33]

Particularly reviled was Malcolm's destruction of the churches of St Cuthbert's land, including St Peter's Wearmouth [34]. The churches were the natural place of refuge for those of the local population who could not escape to the forests and hills. The Scots may, therefore, have attacked these buildings simply because they were fortified and not necessarily, as the Durham chroniclers suggest, out of some systematic contempt for the church. The *Historia Regum* noted that, after this invasion, not a household in Scotland lacked an English slave-girl [35].

Even allowing for the usual monastic hyperbole when events of this kind were being described, heightened by the fact that the lands of the chronicler's own institution were bearing the brunt of the attacks, it does seem that the Scots' raid on this occasion was particularly savage. Malcolm is portrayed as a bloodthirsty commander encouraging his troops to commit greater and greater atrocities [36]. It is unlikely, therefore, that it was such disregard for the *pax sancti Cuthberti* which prompted the monks of Durham to draw up their generous covenant with Malcolm and his wife.

William I's response to Malcolm's invasion was to lead a large-scale expedition into Scotland. According to the chronicle accounts Malcolm performed an act of homage to William at Abernethy in 1072, formally recognising the Norman king's overlordship of Scotland [37].

Malcolm next appears in the histories of the Church of St Cuthbert maltreating Aldwin and Turgot at Melrose [38]. The two had retreated to Cuthbert's old monastery in order to continue their *vita eremitica*. Malcolm demanded a oath of fealty from them, probably fearing that they were the vanguard of an attempt to settle in the area and claim it for Durham. Aldwin's refusal to swear fealty together with threats of excommunication from Bishop Walcher of Durham if he did not return to the bishopric, induced him to leave Melrose [39]. Again, Malcolm's behaviour towards the founding fathers of the Convent of Durham did not endear him to the monastic chronicler.

The Scots invaded again in 1079, 'between the two Mary Masses' [40]. At that time William I was preoccupied in Normandy, whilst Walcher was embroiled in the factionalism within the bishopric which was to bring about his death in 1080 [41]. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Malcolm plundered as far as the Tyne, probably passing through the Northumberland estates of the Church of St Cuthbert [42]. The church of Hexham was also threatened but, due to the intervention of the local saints Acca and Alchmund, the Scots fled without booty [43]. Malcolm's homage was renewed the following year to William's son Robert Curthose whose army was in the North as much to avenge the murder of Bishop Walcher as punish the Scots raid [44].

In 1091, with William Rufus out of England and the Bishop of Durham in exile in Normandy, Malcolm again attacked. The details of this

invasion are set out in one of the miracle stories relating to St Cuthbert [45]. At the approach of the Scots, the *Haliwerfolc* collected their possessions and sought refuge in Durham hoping for protection from the sanctuary surrounding Cuthbert's remains. Malcolm's army advanced as far as Chester-le-Street but halted there confronted by a large southern force. As conditions in Durham deteriorated, the overcrowding began to take its toll. Prayers to Cuthbert, however, brought about the departure of not only the Scots, but also the equally threatening southern army. Malcolm was pursued once more into Scotland, where he was obliged to swear fealty to William Rufus and recognise his overlordship. In return Rufus granted Malcolm, '...in land and in all things, all that he had formerly held under his father' [46].

It was the failure, by Rufus, to keep to the terms of this bargain and, especially, his provocative annexation of Carlisle in 1092 which led to Malcolm's visit to the Norman court at Gloucester in 1093 [47]. On his way south, Malcolm attended the ceremony which marked the laying of the foundations of the new cathedral at Durham. The event is recorded by the *Historia Regum*, the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesie*, and by the tract, *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi Episcopi* [48]. Two of these accounts state that the new church was begun on August 11, 1093 and that the first stones were laid by Bishop William of St Calais, Prior Turgot and Malcolm, King of Scotland [49]. Symeon's account, however, fails to mention Malcolm's presence. The omission is significant, for Symeon's chronicle was written only a decade or so after the event [50].

Malcolm's attendance at the foundation of the cathedral would have been well remembered by the Community at Durham, and the presence of a king on such an occasion, even a king who had proved to be an implacable

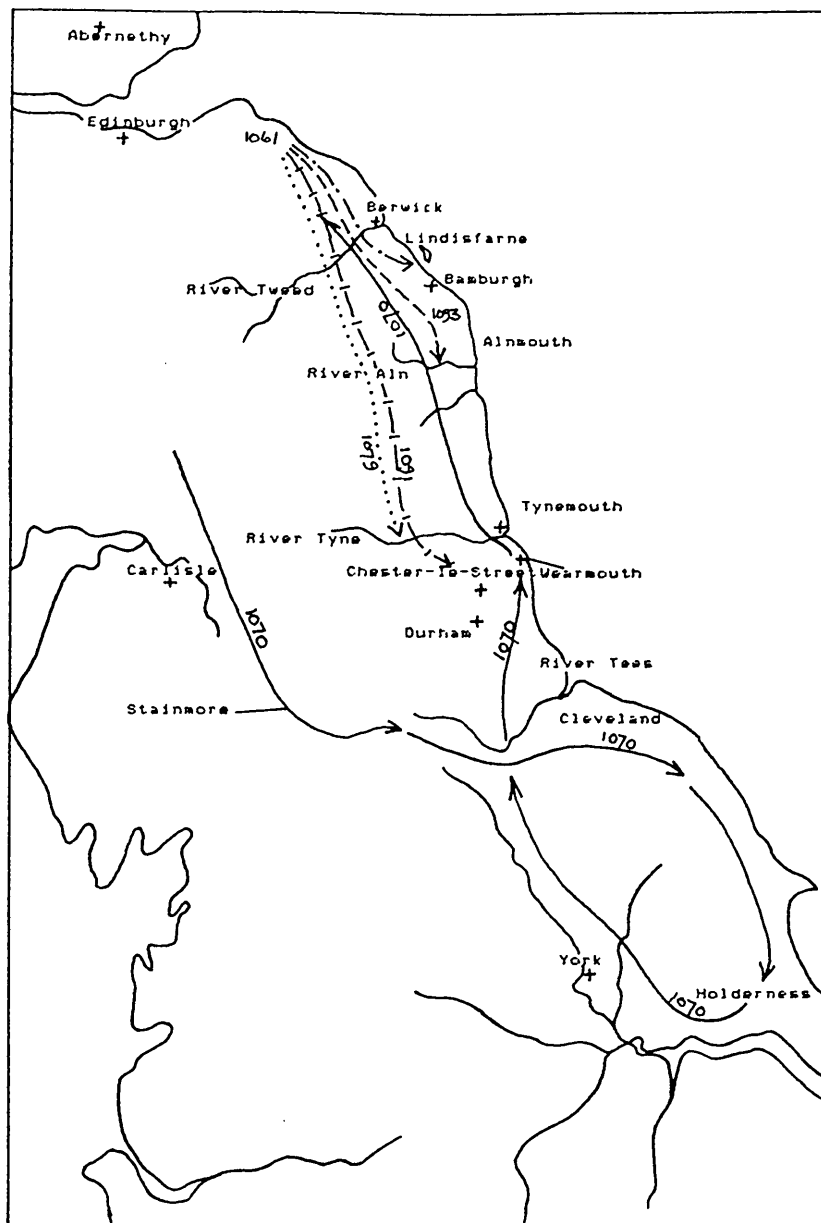


Fig. 7. 1. Malcolm III's Invasions, 1061-1093. The routes are based on information given in the *Historia Regum*, saa. 1061, 1070, 1079, 1091 and 1093.

| | |
|------|-----------|
| 1061 | -----> |
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| 1091 | -+ + + +> |
| 1093 | -----> |

enemy in the recent past, would add prestige to the ceremonial. There are, then, two possibilities. Either Malcolm III had attended the foundation of the cathedral, but his name was erased from Symeon's account, or the Scots king did not attend the ceremony, yet his name was added later by the authors of the accounts in the *Historia Regum* and the *De Iniusta Vexatione*.

At first glance it would appear that the authority of Symeon's account is the greater. He was writing as a member of the Convent of Durham and probably as an eyewitness to the events of 1093 [51]. The author of the *Historia Regum*, on the other hand, based his account of this period on the chronicle of Florence of Worcester [52]. Professor Offler believed that the tract, *De Iniusta Vexatione* was compiled some time after the events which it purports to describe [53]. The latter accounts of the foundation of the cathedral would seem to be overshadowed by Symeon's authority as a source. However there are a number of factors which call into question his version of events.

It has already been seen that the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesie* is not wholly reliable as an account of the Church of St Cuthbert at the end of the eleventh century. Symeon was prepared to restructure his account of the past in order to pursue the theme of *renovatio* which he had developed. This had had the effect, for example, of minimising the contribution of the pre-monastic *Congregatio* in the preservation of the cult of St Cuthbert [54]. Symeon has been shown, therefore, not to have been a wholly unimpeachable witness to the history of the Church of Durham. He was, perhaps, too close to affairs at this time to render an impartial account. In this respect, the other two sources, standing, as

they do, at one remove from the events of 1093, may prove to be the more reliable.

The text of the *conventio* suggests that the agreement which it records was drawn up at some date between the foundation of the Convent of Durham and the deaths of Malcolm and Margaret, that is, between 28 May, 1083 and 13 November 1093. Such a covenant could only have been contracted at a time of peace between the Scots king and his southern neighbours, for it cannot be argued with conviction that, whilst their lands were being plundered, the monks of St Cuthbert felt disposed to pledge themselves to remember their chief oppressor in their prayers. The only record of a visit to Durham by Malcolm III is that describing his presence at the foundation of the cathedral. Whereas it would not have been necessary for him to receive the *conventio* in person, the ceremony of August 1093 would have been the ideal opportunity to draw up such an agreement. The *conventio* may also have been part of a wider agreement between the Convent and the King. Durham may have secured from Malcolm a pledge of immunity from attack should the Scots invade once more. In the 1130s the Priory of Tynemouth managed to obtain just such a document from David I during his campaigns in the North-East of England [55]. Such a covenant protecting the lands of St Cuthbert would be sufficient to explain why the Convent was prepared to tolerate Malcolm's four previous invasions. Why, then, did Symeon omit to mention Malcolm III's presence at the ceremony of 1093 ?

After the death of Malcolm III the relationship between the Church of Durham and the Scots royal house improved dramatically. As will be seen, Malcolm's sons made generous donations to St Cuthbert, and the future king, Alexander, was given the privilege of attending the

translation of the saint's body in 1104 [56]. In addition, Margaret began to gain a posthumous reputation for sanctity. Thus, by the early decades of the twelfth century the monks of Durham no longer had reason to fear their neighbours to the North. However, when Malcolm returned from Rufus' court he immediately embarked upon his final invasion of Northumbria. If he had drawn up an agreement in August 1093, guaranteeing the Convent immunity from attack, its terms were shortlived and its effectiveness nullified only a few weeks later. The Patrimony of St Cuthbert was once again placed in danger, yet the monks had pledged themselves to pray for their aggressor. Symeon resolved this incongruity by omitting to mention either the *conventio* or the embarrassingly ineffectual agreement of which it was a part. Thus, Malcolm III has no place in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesie*'s account of the foundation of the cathedral in 1093 [57]. By the time that the *Historia Regum* and the *De Iniusta Vexatione* were compiled there had been a great improvement in relations with the Scots. The *conventio* mentioned the sons of Malcolm III and Margaret and, unlike their parents, they made substantial gifts to the Church of St Cuthbert. There was, therefore, no need, for the authors of the later accounts, to erase the memory of Malcolm III's participation in the events of 1093.

The *conventio* was the product of the unique circumstances of 1093 when the Convent saw the possibility of coming to an arrangement with the chief despoiler of St Cuthbert's lands. The failure of this expedient left the *conventio* in the Durham archives side-by-side with historical accounts vilifying the recipient of its benefits.

Malcolm III's fifth invasion of Northumbria proved to be his last. He and his eldest son and heir, Edward, were killed by earl Robert de

Mowbray near the river Aln in Northumberland [58]. Malcolm's body remained unburied until two of the locals unceremoniously loaded it onto a cart and conveyed it to Tynemouth Priory. Tynemouth had been given to the Abbey of St Albans by earl Robert and this suggests that it was on de Mowbray's instructions that it was conveyed there [59]. It should be noted that there is no suggestion that the Scots king's body was brought to Durham, as might have been expected if the close ties implied by the granting of the *conventio* had existed. The *Historia Regum* account of the demise of Malcolm III concludes,

Sicque factum est ut ubi multos vita et rebus, et libertate privaverat, ibidem ipse Dei iudicio vitam simul cum rebus amitteret. [60]

When news of Malcolm's death reached Margaret her strength failed and within a few days she, too, was dead [61]. There was no expression of remorse at Canmore's passing in the Durham historical tradition and no encomium of his virtues. There is only the eschatological observation that he had paid in full for his sins against the people of St Cuthbert. This lack of a funeral valediction on Malcolm's behalf provides further reason to doubt whether, during his reign, he was ever held in high esteem by the monks of Durham. He is depicted as a barbarian, a desecrater of churches, and to the author of the *Historia Regum* he was,

...homo scilicet ferocissimus mentemque bestialem gerens Northumbrensem provinciam crebra irruptione misere devastare solebat, plurimosque de illa viros et mulieres captivos in Scotiam deducere. [62]

Such is the character of Malcolm III which emerges from the Durham chronicles. The Community of St Cuthbert was careful to record each donation by kings and other high-ranking laymen, yet there is nothing to suggest that Malcolm made any donations to St Cuthbert. There is a contrast here with Symeon's evaluation of William I, who granted St Cuthbert the estate of Billingham, amongst other things. The Conqueror had also attacked the saint's Patrimony yet,

'...king William always held the holy Confessor and his Church in great veneration and honoured them with royal gifts and augmented them with landed possessions.' [63]

The only pieces of evidence which seem inconsistent with the rest of Durham's opinion on Malcolm III, are the *conventio* and the report of his presence at the foundation of the cathedral, but these, as has been said, belong to the special circumstances of 1093.

The deaths of Malcolm III and his heir, Edward, allowed those among the Scottish nobility who resented the influence of Margaret and her English party to advance their own candidate for the throne. In accordance with what had been normal practice before 1034, Malcolm's brother, Donald Bán, was chosen king and the foreigners were driven from Scotland [64].

In 1072, Malcolm's agreement with William I had involved the surrender of Scottish hostages. Among these was Duncan, Malcolm's son by his first marriage to Ingibiorg, daughter of Thorfinn the Mighty. In 1087 Duke Robert released Duncan, knighted him and then allowed him to join Rufus' army. On hearing of Donald's seizure of the Scots throne, Duncan sought help from the Norman king in order to secure his father's

kingdom [65]. William Rufus doubtless recognised the opportunity to intervene directly in Scottish affairs and so secure his northern border. In return for his military assistance, Rufus demanded from Duncan an oath of fealty, which carried with it the implication that the Scottish king was to hold his throne as a vassal of the Norman king of England [66]. In May 1094, Duncan succeeded in driving his uncle from the Scottish throne. His reign was, however, shortlived as the Scots rebelled, killing nearly all of Duncan's English and French cohorts. They allowed him to retain the throne but on the condition that, '...he should no longer bring into Scotland either English or Normans, or permit them to fight for him' [67]. Thus, deprived of support, Duncan was killed in December 1094 and Donald Bán once more became king.

Fortunately for Rufus, another son of Malcolm III, Edgar, was also eager to seize the Scots throne. In the charter recording his gift of Coldinghamshire and Berwickshire to St Cuthbert, dated to 1095, Edgar was styled *rex scottorum*, suggesting that he was making his claim to the throne [68]. After Michaelmas 1097 Edgar the Atheling led an army of Anglo-Norman troops into Scotland which defeated and killed Donald Bán, and installed his nephew as king [69].

The events of 1097 mark a redefinition of the relationship between the Scots and English thrones. Edgar, and his successor, Alexander, became vassals of the Norman kings who seem to have had the power of disposition over the Scots kingdom. For example, in 1099, Edgar attended Rufus' crown-wearing and, as his chief vassal, bore the king's sword [70]. Alexander's ^ssuccession in 1107 was '...as king Henry granted him', and, in 1114 Alexander answered his lord's summons for military aid against the Welsh [71].

A series of dynastic marriages also strengthened ties between the Scots and English thrones. In 1100 Henry I married Edgar's sister, Matilda while, later, Alexander married the king's illegitimate daughter Sibylla [72]. Finally, through the agency of his sister, David, Malcolm III's youngest son was given the hand in marriage of Maud, widow of Simon de Senliz, earl of Northampton [73]. David's fortunes improved further when Alexander was forced to give him control of Cumbria and southern Scotland after Norman threats of military intervention [74].

The major effect of this relationship between the Scots and English thrones was that there was a lengthy period of cross-border peace. This situation was reflected in the dealings of the Scottish kings with the Church of St Cuthbert during this hiatus in hostilities. If Malcolm III was seen by the monks of Durham as a despoiler of their lands, his sons, Duncan, Edgar, Alexander and David were viewed as generous benefactors.

A series of late eleventh and early twelfth-century charters preserved among the muniments of Durham cathedral record the gifts of Duncan II and his step-brothers [75]. There has been some debate concerning the authenticity of the earliest of these Scottish charters, but there is agreement that the donations which they purport to record were made [76]. The existence of these diplomas adds weight to the proposition that the intermittent wars of Malcolm's reign inhibited the development of any amicable relationship between the Scottish court and the Church of St Cuthbert. No such benefactions exist for Malcolm's reign.

Duncan's charter to Durham can be dated to the period of Donald Bán's first occupation of the Scottish throne, that is between November 1093 and May 1094 [77]. Duncan and Rufus' army halted at Durham on their

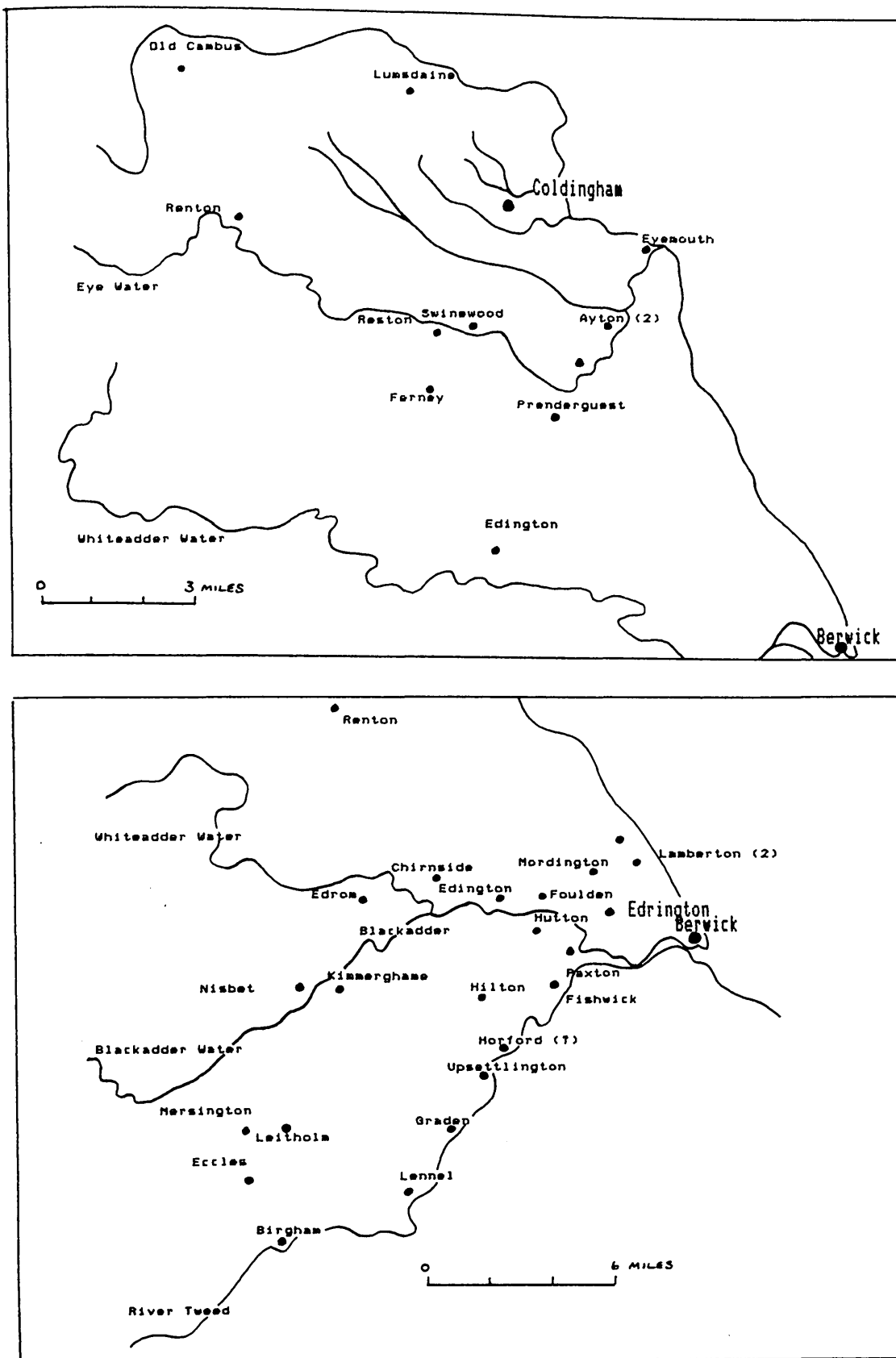


Fig. 7.2. Coldinghamshire and Berwickshire granted to the Convent of Durham by Duncan II and Edgar of Scotland. [The maps are based on those of Professor Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 30-31.]

march north in the winter or spring of 1093/4. From the early tenth century it had become customary for southern armies operating in the North-East of England to visit Cuthbert's shrine and seek his blessing for their enterprise [78]. Invariably these visits were marked by the donation of substantial gifts to the saint's church. Duncan followed this tradition and granted,

Tiningeham, Aldeham, Scuchale, Cnolle, Hatheruuich et de Broccesmuthe omne servitium quod inde habuit Fodanus episcopus, et haec dedi in tali quitantia cum saca et soca qualem unquam meliorem habuit. [79]

These properties represent the remnant of the ancient Northumbrian estate of Tynninghamshire which had been lost to the Church of St Cuthbert when it was destroyed by Anlaf the Dane in 941 [80]. In the ninth century the monastery of Lindisfarne claimed both Aldham and Tynningham in East Lothian as part of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert and, in 1094, it is likely that the monks requested the restoration of these lands from Duncan [81].

The gift of Tynninghamshire was, however, abortive and there is no evidence that the monks were ever seised of the lands. Technically they were the property of the Bishop of St Andrews and there may have been some doubt as to Duncan's title to dispose of them. The death of the king shortly after his arrival in Scotland probably rendered the grant null and void before the Convent of Durham could take advantage of the gift. However, Duncan's gesture secured him a place in the prayers of the monks of Durham and his name was entered into the *Liber Vitae* [82].

In the autumn of 1095 William Rufus entered Northumberland in order to put down earl Robert de Mowbray's rebellion [83]. Around this time he

issued a charter confirming a gift made to God, St Cuthbert, Bishop William and the monks of Durham by *Eadgarus rex filius Malcolmi regis scottorum* [84]. The charter which Rufus was confirming exists at Durham only as a late copy. Whereas there is some doubt as to the authenticity of the original there is no reason to doubt what it claims to record [85]. Historians concerned with the relationship between the Scottish and English kingdoms have focused upon this charter as an expression of English lordship, as Edgar is styled king by the gift of William Rufus [86]. Its significance here, however, is that it marks the continuation of the improved relations between the Church of St Cuthbert and Scotland. The estates granted by Edgar were the 'shires' of Coldingham and Berwick. Coldingham was the site of St Ebba's monastery which Cuthbert had often visited [87]. After the monastery's destruction, the estate was claimed, along with those of many other defunct religious houses in Northumbria, by the monks of Lindisfarne and it is likely, therefore, that Edgar's grant at the end of the eleventh century was, like his step-brother Duncan's, made at the specific request of the Convent of Durham.

The other property granted by Edgar was the *mansio* of Berwick and its dependent settlements, or 'shire' [88]. The Berwickshire estate, however, was lost to the Church of St Cuthbert, probably during the vacancy in the bishopric of Durham between 1096 and 1099. Professor Duncan believed that when the original gift was made, Bishop William of St Calais granted the Coldinghamshire estate to the monks whilst retaining Berwickshire for himself. This view adheres to the idea that some division of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert was made in 1083, while it

has been argued above that no such clear separation of episcopal and monastic land was made [89].

The Convent of Durham secured further confirmation of their rights to Coldingham and sent monks to administer the property [90]. Coldingham did not acquire the status of a Priory until well into the twelfth century as the first Prior did not appear until the 1140s [91]. During the first decades of the twelfth century Edward *monachus* seems to have had responsibility for the Coldinghamshire lands. Edward may be the same man who is to be found representing the Convent's interests in Islandshire during the episcopate of Rannulf Flambard [92]. A writ of David I ordered Edward to supply wood for the king's use at Berwick and, between 1124 and 1127 he was given the tithe of all the catch from Hallowstell fishery in the river Tweed [93].

The monks of Durham also acquired other properties in Berwickshire. In addition to confirming his gift of Coldinghamshire, Edgar regranted parts of the Berwick estate including Fishwick, Paxton and Swinton, which was donated on the occasion of the dedication of St Mary's church at Coldingham [94]. Among the witnesses to this last gift was a certain Thor Longus. He had been given some waste land at Ednam in Roxburghshire, which he had cultivated with the king's help. The church which he had built there he made over to St Cuthbert in the hope of securing the redemption of the soul of his brother, Lefwin [95].

Edgar's beneficence may be explained simply in terms of a pragmatic desire to establish cordial relations with the most influential religious community in the North of England, yet his reason for making the donation may also have been more personal. It is possible that Edgar was a devotee of the cult of St Cuthbert which was well established

within Lothian. Edgar's brother, David, for example, later granted land lying at the foot of Edinburgh castle to the church of St Cuthbert *iuxta castellum* [96]. There is also the tradition related by John of Fordun that Edgar's triumph in 1097 was guaranteed by the presence of the banner of St Cuthbert at the head of the Anglo-Norman army. Cuthbert had appeared to Edgar in a dream and had promised him the victory if he would march under his oriflamme [97]. Although there is more than a hint of the Alfred/St Cuthbert episode in Fordun's story, it is indicative of the change in the relationship between the Church of Durham and the Scottish kings which occurred at the end of the eleventh century [98].

The relationship was strengthened in 1104 when earl Alexander attended the translation of St Cuthbert's body from the Anglo-Saxon minster into the Romanesque cathedral begun by Bishop William of St Calais [99]. Alexander succeeded his brother in 1107 and, in the same year, asked Henry I to appoint Prior Turgot of Durham to the bishopric of St Andrews. Bishop Rannulf Flambard supported Alexander's request with an eagerness which one commentator found distasteful [100]. Turgot had been the major obstacle to Flambard's autocratic ambitions in Durham and his removal to Scotland suited his purposes admirably. However, Alexander's choice of Turgot may have been due to the prior's earlier connection with the Scots royal house.

The *Vita sanctæ Margaretæ* of the early twelfth century has been attributed to Prior Turgot on the strength of the formula *T. servorum s. Cuthberti servus* which appears in the prologue to the work [101]. The *vita* presents a conventional hagiography of Malcolm's queen although it is vague and almost wholly lacking in detail [102]. Turgot's authorship of the *vita* seems to accord well with the idea of close links between

the Scots royal house and Durham, except that his residence at Dunfermline would have been during the period, discussed above, when Malcolm III was engaged on his campaigns against Northumbria.

Turgot's career was outlined by the author of the *Historia Regum* [103]. He was of noble birth and was taken as one of the hostages for Lindsey by William I. Bribing his way out of Lincoln castle, Turgot fled to Norway where he rose to become chaplain to King Olaf. After a few years he returned to England but was shipwrecked on the Northumbrian coast. Around 1075 he joined Aldwin's nascent community at Jarrow. Nowhere in this account is there any mention of Turgot having been at the Scottish court before his elevation to the see of St Andrew's in 1107 [104]. The only reported contact between Turgot and Malcolm III was the confrontation at Melrose discussed above. The author of the *vita* had, however, spent a considerable time at Malcolm's court, acting as Margaret's chaplain. In 1087 Turgot became Prior of Durham in succession to his close companion, Aldwin and it is doubtful whether he can have been resident at the Scottish court between then and the death of Margaret in 1093 [105]. The only possible period of prolonged residence at Dunfermline would have been after the expulsion from Melrose, around 1075, and before 1087. However, none of the Durham sources mention this period of residence and this is an omission which is difficult to ignore. Moreover, Turgot is described as Aldwin's *discipulus*, his constant companion [106].

Turgot was credited with the authorship of a great many early twelfth-century sources from the North of England, including Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ* [107]. The attribution of the *vita sanctæ Margaretæ* to Turgot's pen may be another case of the compiler of a later

manuscript searching for a likely author [108]. Turgot's position as chaplain and hagiographer of Queen Margaret of Scotland must, therefore, remain in doubt [109].

Turgot's time as Bishop of St Andrew's involved him in the dispute between York and Canterbury concerning their jurisdiction over the Church in Scotland [110]. Later, Turgot also lost favour with Alexander clashing over a projected visit to Rome [111]. In 1115 Turgot returned to Durham and, after making a sentimental visit to Wearmouth, he died in the monastery of St Cuthbert [112]. The presence of a Benedictine at the head of the Scottish church did not divert further patronage towards the Convent of St Cuthbert, although Alexander did confirm the earlier grants of his brother [113]. Instead, the Scots king began to support the newer orders which were appearing in England, founding a house of Austin canons at Scone whose Prior, Robert of Nostell, became Bishop of St Andrews [114].

Alexander's reign marks a gradual turning away from English influences and, at least in ecclesiastical affairs, a desire to join the wider trends prevalent in Western Christendom without the mediation of the kingdom of England. As a result the Convent of Durham and its cell at Coldingham received no new grants of land from the Scots king. This drying up of the benefits of patronage was compensated for, to a degree, by the fact that peace was maintained between the two kingdoms allowing the monks to enjoy the profits from their possessions. In Ailred of Rievaulx's opinion, Alexander was, '...humble and amiable to clergy and monks...and most zealous in establishing churches, in seeking out the relics of saints' [115].

William of Newburgh, writing towards the end of the twelfth century, reported the death of David I, and, as was common practice, followed the obituary notice with a brief sketch of David's character. The King was compared favourably with his Old Testament namesake and Newburgh decided that David was a worthy monarch who had atoned in full for the sins which he had committed. Newburgh singled out David's religious works for special mention,

He was a man great and glorious in the secular world but equally glorious in Christ; for we are assured by witnesses worthy of credence who were acquainted with his life and actions that he was a religious and holy man...He was so open-handed in his devout generosity that, leaving aside his abundant distributions to the poor, many churches of holy men which he founded, enriched and adorned, proclaim his almsgiving [116].

David's generosity is well documented and it seems to have reflected a sincere personal piety [117]. In addition David displayed respect and admiration for the ways of the Norman court in which he had been brought up and his reign has been characterised as the period of the 'Normanisation' of Scotland [118]. As earl of Northampton and Huntingdon David had connections with the heartland of the Norman settlement in England, and, as the brother of the queen he had access to the workings of Anglo-Norman government. In these circumstances the prospects for the development of even closer ties with the Church of St Cuthbert seemed promising. However, the cartularies of the Convent of Durham record relatively few benefactions from this man who was '...great and glorious in the secular world, but equally glorious in Christ' [119].

The majority of the charters issued to the monks of St Cuthbert by David and his son, earl Henry, concern Coldingham. Many of these survive as original *cartae* and an inspection of their contents reveals that they are, for the most part, confirmations of earlier grants by Edgar and Alexander [120]. There seems to be no evidence of large-scale patronage for the Church of St Cuthbert despite the ties established by his elder brothers. Two aspects of David's reign provide clues as to the reason for this relative neglect of the monks at Durham. David's preference for the reformed religious orders and the part which he played in the dynastic struggle between Stephen and Matilda directly affected his patronage of the Church of St Cuthbert. This is not to say, however, that David totally ignored the monks at Durham, for it was during his reign that the cell at Coldingham was promoted to the status of a Priory [121].

During the late eleventh and twelfth centuries the patronage of religious houses was subject to changes in fashion. In general, the older Benedictine institutions experienced a decline in the volume of donations made at their altars. In contrast the new, reformed orders profited from aristocratic patronage and the North of England in particular experienced something of a monastic revival during the first half of the twelfth century. David was part of this trend, patronising a wide range of religious orders.

Before his accession to the throne in 1124, David had already established connections with two monastic orders in particular. He became a patron of the Cluniac house of St Andrew in his southern earldom of Northampton and also developed a close relationship with Tiron, establishing, in 1116, a Tironensian house at Selkirk [122]. On

his accession to the throne, the range of David's endowments widened to include the Austin canons at Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth and of the Holy Cross or Rood in Edinburgh [123]. David's religious priorities did not include the patronage of the Church of St Cuthbert. For example, in the early 1140s David established a Cistercian house at Melrose. The site had strong connections with St Cuthbert and the Convent of Durham had clearly established some claim there as David was obliged to arrange the transfer of St Mary's Church Berwick to the monks of St Cuthbert, ...*in excambio pro ecclesia de Melros et pro rectitudinibus quas ibi habuerunt* [124]. At this period David was pressing his claims to Northumberland and it might be argued that the Convent of Durham had little option but to comply with the exchange. Nevertheless, the arrangement may have had something to recommend it as St Mary's Berwick could be administered more easily from Coldingham than could the more remote site at Melrose. The grant of St Mary's, Berwick also added to the Convent's properties within the shire.

During the reigns of David's parents and brothers, however, the Benedictines had made an appearance within Scotland. Queen Margaret, for example, had attempted to establish a Benedictine Convent at Dunfermline. Instead of applying to Bishop William of St Calais at Durham, she asked Archbishop Lanfranc for assistance and secured the services of three monks from Canterbury [125]. Once again, this suggests that relations between the Scots royal house and Durham during the reign of Malcolm III were not as close as the *conventio* might suggest and Lanfranc may have seen, in Margaret's request, an opportunity to intervene in the province of his rival the Archbishop of York [126]. Durham was the Archbishop of York's suffragan and, if monks had been

sent to colonise Scotland from the Church of St Cuthbert, this might have strengthened York's claim to primacy over the church beyond the Tweed [127]. It was not until the mid twelfth century that the Scottish Bishops themselves began to react against the claims of both York and Canterbury [128]. However, Margaret's foundation at Dunfermline foundered, probably in the anti-English reaction of Donald Bán's reign.

The Canterbury connection was re-established with the arrival of monks sent by Anselm at Edgar's request and the later appointment of Eadmer as Turgot's successor at St Andrews [129]. The Bishop-elect and Alexander disagreed over Canterbury's claim to authority in Scotland and Eadmer's tenure of the office was short-lived. After the failure of two Benedictines the bishopric of St Andrews went to Robert, Prior of the Austin canons at Scone [130].

The breakdown in order which was characteristic of Stephen's reign allowed David to re-affirm Scottish territorial ambitions in the North-East of England. David's espousal of the Empress's cause ^aenabled him to intervene in English politics [131]. This intervention brought problems for a large number of Northern baronial families who had been encouraged to settle in Scotland by David. Robert de Brus, for example, the Bishop of Durham's near neighbour in Hartness, became lord of Annandale by David's grant [132]. In 1138 Robert was forced to renounce his allegiance to the Scots king and oppose him at the Battle of the Standard. The Convent of Durham was in a similar position as its cell of Coldingham lay well within Scottish territory. In addition, as has been seen, the estates of St Cuthbert in Northumberland and Islandshire were especially vulnerable to any attacks across the border [133].

David's first invasion of Northumberland came at the beginning of 1136 when he annexed the earldom and Cumberland, capturing all the castles, '...together with all the peoples of the district as far as Durham' [134]. Stephen was forced to come to terms with the Scottish king at Durham and, according to Richard of Hexham, he invested David's son Henry with the earldom of Huntingdon together with Carlisle and Doncaster [135]. Richard of Hexham also suggests that Henry was promised the earldom of Northumberland although its castles were to be handed over to Stephen [136]. In the following year, David invaded again but was forced to accept a truce when confronted by a large army despatched by Stephen to the Tyne. In January 1138 David's nephew, William fitz Duncan led an attack upon Wark castle on the Tweed, the Scots army, following close behind, devastated Northumbria [137]. It was during this period that the Priory of Tynemouth acquired a charter of protection from David I. The document was issued in June 1138, *apud sedem de Norham*, testimony to the fact that the Bishop of Durham had not negotiated a similar immunity from attack [138]. Norham guarded a fording place over the Tweed and was a prime target for David's troops.

David's movements during this campaign were detailed by John and Richard of Hexham. They record especially the damage inflicted upon the possessions of the Church of St Cuthbert. Moving down the east coast of Northumberland, the Scots,

...destroyed first the seaboard province which the other time he [David] had left untouched and whatever else besides this he had anywhere passed over unharmed; and then the greatest part of the land of St Cuthbert, in the eastern district between Durham and the sea, with no less fury and cruelty than has been related above. In addition, he destroyed in like manner very many of the farms, together with their cultivators, of the

monks who serve God and St Cuthbert day and night, both at this time and the other [139].

According to Richard of Hexham, it was at this juncture that St Cuthbert,

...had compassion upon his own. For while his men were so employed the king tarried with his knights not far from Durham. And there a serious sedition arose because of a certain woman and the Picts threatened to destroy the king and his followers [140].

Evidently relations between the Scots and Pictish elements in David's army became strained, although there are no more details concerning this event. Richard does go on to say that rumours of the approach of a southern army forced David to retreat to Norham which was re-invested. Norham was eventually taken despite the resistance of the garrison led by nine knights of the bishopric, probably commanded by Papedy, the sheriff of Norhamshire [141]. There is a note of censure in Richard of Hexham's description of the surrender of Norham. The capitulation was ignominious since, '...the wall was very good and the tower very strong, ' and the defenders still had an abundance of provisions. Richard's account gives the reason for the surrender as being due to casualties sustained by the garrison, '...and also because they hoped for no aid from their lord, Geoffrey Bishop of Durham' [142]. The Bishop's inaction may have been due to extreme caution or simply to an inability to raise enough troops to relieve Norham and, at the same time, maintain the garrison at Durham. Whatever the reason, Geoffrey-Rufus was severely criticised by the chronicler;

Therefore the knights and others who were in the town incurred great ignominy because they had defended the fortress badly and had yielded too soon; and not they only but their lord as well, because he had not defended his fortress according to his opportunity and the needs of the time [143].

Richard does not, however, accuse Bishop Geoffrey of complicity in David's invasion as he reports that the Bishop had refused David's offer that, if he would abandon Stephen's cause and swear fealty to him, he would return Norham and make adequate reparations for the losses incurred [144].

During this episode and its finale upon Cowton Moor at the Battle of the Standard, there is no evidence to show that the Bishop of Durham actively opposed the Scots [145]. Although Geoffrey-Rufus had declared for Stephen, St Cuthbert's banner was conspicuously absent from the battle, whereas the emblems of the other great Northern saints, Wilfrid of Ripon and John of Beverley, were there to rally the southern forces [146]. Thus it appears that Bishop Geoffrey was either unable or unwilling to support Stephen openly. It is possible that the repeated attacks of David's forces from 1136 to 1138 had drained the resources of the bishopric to such an extent that Bishop Geoffrey was unable to spare any more than nine knights to defend Norham or send a relieving army. Richard of Hexham noted that the defenders of Norham were 'little practised in such struggles' and this too may be interpreted as referring to the hasty conscription of unseasoned troops at a time of crisis [147]. On the other hand, the bishopric of Durham had enjoyed almost forty years of peace before David's invasions. The barons of the bishopric were capable of successfully organising themselves in defence of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, as the events surrounding William

Cumin's attempt to seize the bishopric show [148]. Bishop Geoffrey was in a difficult position for, on the one hand he had declared his support for Stephen, yet on the other the estates of his church were the most vulnerable to attack. In addition, active resistance to the Scots might jeopardise St Cuthbert's possessions in Scotland. Bishop Geoffrey's solution to this dilemma seems to have been to offer only passive resistance to David. St Cuthbert's banner was absent from Cowton Moor because the Bishop of Durham had decided to remain in as neutral a position as could be managed. Ideally Geoffrey-Rufus would have preferred a charter of immunity from attack as secured by the monks of Tynemouth, but this would have compromised his position with King Stephen.

David's defeat at the Battle of the Standard did not prove as disastrous as it might have done. Stephen was unable to follow up the victory and the activities of the Empress's forces in the south-west of England forced him to agree to the second treaty of Durham [149]. David's son, Henry, received formal recognition as earl of Northumberland although the castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle, together with the lands of St Cuthbert were excluded from his lordship [150]. Although the forces of the bishopric of St Cuthbert had not taken an active part in the resistance to the Scottish invasions of 1136-38, the castle at Durham remained one of the major obstacles to David's ambitions in the North-East of England.

One of those captured by the southern forces at the Battle of the Standard was the Chancellor of Scotland, William Cumin. Cumin had once been the protégé of Geoffrey-Rufus when the latter had occupied the office of chancellor under Henry I [151]. Cumin had followed Geoffrey to

the North but had continued on to Scotland and entered David's service, becoming chancellor in about 1136. Geoffrey-Rufus and Cumin remained in contact and, at Easter 1141, the chancellor of Scotland was in Durham as the Bishop's guest. Dr Young has argued that Cumin's presence at Durham is indicative of the strength of Scottish influence in the North of England at this juncture [152]. This may be so, but it is more likely that the visit was conducted for more personal reasons. Whilst Cumin was at Durham, however, it became clear that the Bishop's health was failing rapidly. According to the chronicle accounts, Cumin decided to seize the bishopric on Geoffrey-Rufus' death [153]. The advantages for David in having his chancellor installed as Bishop of Durham are clear and there is no reason to doubt that Cumin had his full support at this stage. Bishop Geoffrey may even have nominated Cumin as his successor, as there is evidence that the Bishop's chaplains gave the Scottish chancellor their support, and his nephew surrendered Durham castle to him [154]. There was, therefore, a party at Durham which believed that Cumin had received the Bishop's blessing as a candidate for the see of St Cuthbert.

The monastic chronicler of these events weaves a fine web of intrigue around the report of Geoffrey-Rufus' death, saying that Cumin and his supporters managed to conceal the Bishop's demise from the dignitaries of the Church for several days while Cumin was away from Durham seeking David's support [155]. Perhaps persuaded by the fact that his chancellor had a following within Durham itself, David gave Cumin his backing. In addition Cumin won over some of the most important of Durham's baronial neighbours, including Robert de Brus, Bernard de Balliol, Hugh de Morville and Eustace fit John. Many of these magnates

had been associated with David I before the Battle of the Standard and they may have viewed their support for Cumin as a way of securing their estates in Scotland [156].

The officials of the Church of St Cuthbert were divided into two factions. Cumin won the support of Robert, one of the see's two archdeacons but was opposed by Rannulf the other archdeacon and by the Prior, Roger [157]. The opposition to Cumin was founded upon the argument that the Scots chancellor had not been canonically elected by the clergy of Durham. In Dr Young's opinion the Convent opposed Cumin because he threatened the independence which the monks had enjoyed under earlier absentee bishops [158]. The evidence discussed above, however, suggests that the bishops re-asserted control over the Convent after the departure of Turgot for the bishopric of St Andrew's in 1107 [159]. Both Rannulf Flambard and Geoffrey-Rufus took an active role in the bishopric, usurping monastic lands and, as a consequence, acquired the disapprobation of the monastic chroniclers [160]. The death of Geoffrey-Rufus thus presented the Convent with the chance to install their own candidate in the episcopal chair. However much the monks might argue that correct canonical procedure had not been followed, it was the chance to regain some measure of the freedom which they had enjoyed under Prior Turgot, which lies at the heart of their resistance to Cumin.

The growth of canon law in the twelfth century and the circumstances of Stephen's reign allowed the Papacy to take a more actively interventionist role in the government of the English church [161]. The dispute over the election at Durham was referred directly to the papal legate, Henry of Winchester, as the archiepiscopal see of York

was experiencing its own difficulties after the death of Thurstan in 1140 [162]. Cumin's cause was unlikely to succeed if the matter was referred to the arbitrators of canon law and, in this knowledge, the Scottish chancellor went to great lengths to prevent the election of a rival candidate [163].

Throughout the Cumin affair David I demonstrated a willingness to abide by the will of the Church as expressed in canon law. For example, he agreed to accompany the representatives of the cathedral chapter when they put their case to the legate. In the meantime he came to Durham and, in the name of the Empress, placed the management of the see in the hands of William Cumin [164]. Despite the fact that the legate ruled against Cumin, the Empress prepared to invest the Scottish chancellor with the bishopric herself, but was prevented from carrying out her intention by a revolt against her by the Community of London [165]. At this point David's support for Cumin wavered. After his narrow escape from Winchester, the Scots king accepted the hospitality of the monks of St Cuthbert. Cumin remained *quasi custos episcopatus sub manu imperatricis*, but David pledged that peace would be maintained between the castle and the Convent. This undertaking may have been accompanied by earl Henry's grant protecting the estates of the monks in Northumberland [166]. If David's hope was to win support for Cumin by conciliating the Convent, his plans were brought to nothing by his chancellor's own impatience.

Cumin began to demand oaths of fealty from the barons of the bishopric and all except Roger de Conyers complied with the order [167]. In addition, the pressure on Cumin was increased when David sent Abbot Herbert of Kelso to Durham in the hope that he might be a more

acceptable candidate to the Convent. The failure of Herbert's mission seems to have alienated David further from Cumin's cause [168]. Perhaps sensing this waning in royal support Cumin concocted a papal letter which named himself as the Pope's choice for Durham. At first the letter won credence at the Scottish court and David ordered that it should be shown throughout the country. However, Richard, Abbot of Melrose exposed the deception, a revelation which seems to have signalled the end of David's support for his chancellor [169].

From this point onward Cumin acted with increasing hostility towards the Convent. In spite of his close attention, the monks managed to despatch an embassy to Rome, led by Prior Roger, which returned with a genuine papal letter ordering a canonical election at Durham. William Cumin attempted to prevent the election taking place by detaining the electors, but, nevertheless the dean of York, William of Ste Barbe was chosen. He was consecrated by the legate at Winchester on the 20 June 1143 [170].

The rest of 1143 and 1144 saw intermittent warfare between Cumin's forces and those of the Bishop-elect led by Roger de Conyers. Cumin's final meeting with David took place at Gateshead in August 1144, when it was made clear that the chancellor could expect no further aid in his enterprise. This, together with the resistance of the bishopric's barons forced Cumin to surrender in October of the same year [171].

It is clear that the installation of a bishop at Durham with strong Scottish sympathies would have strengthened David's power in the North-East of England considerably. It is equally clear that David was not prepared to impose such a candidate upon the see in the face of determined local resistance. This was combined with a deference to papal

authority which was highlighted by his eager acceptance of the forged papal letter although, it must be admitted, the papal judgement which the forgery purported to record suited his aims admirably. Nevertheless, David's reputation emerged from the Cumin affair remarkably intact. For example, John of Hexham's continuation of the *Historia Regum*, reported David's death and added that,

...his memory is blessed throughout all generations...he showed himself a model even for men of the cloisters in the daily frugality of his food and clothing, in the sanctity of his honourable life and in the restraint of his customs [172].

Cumin, on the other hand, was reviled by the chroniclers. His tenacity of purpose in trying to establish himself in the bishopric of Durham has been seen as the result of his own ambitions to provide his family with a dynastic base, much as Flambard had succeeded in so doing [173].

The history of relations between the Church of St Cuthbert and the Scottish royal house during the period 1057 to 1153 falls into three distinct periods. Malcolm III's reign was one of intermittent but bloody warfare during which the Patrimony of St Cuthbert seems to have suffered considerable devastation. The accession of Edgar in 1097 heralded a period of peace in the course of which the connections between the Church of Durham and the Scottish royal house were established. The cell of Coldingham grew in importance and the monks acquired other estates in Berwickshire and as far north as Edinburgh. The beginnings of the reorganisation of the Scottish episcopacy forced the Convent to come to an arrangement with the Bishop of St Andrews over its churches in Lothian. However, the Convent was unable to establish the kind of

immunity which it enjoyed in the bishopric of Durham or in Yorkshire [174]. Finally, the intervention of David in English affairs during the upheavals of Stephen's reign placed the bishopric of Durham in a difficult position. It seems that Geoffrey-Rufus decided that passive resistance to the Scots forces offered the best chance of the survival of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. He did not secure an agreement with the Scots as Hugh du Puiset was to do during William the Lion's invasion of 1173, but maintained at least nominal support for Stephen [175].

Despite the fact that from 1138 until 1153 effective political control in Northumberland remained with the Scots king, the Church of St Cuthbert managed to maintain its independence. This may be, in large measure, due to the fact that the Bishop of Durham seems to have played little part in the defence of the North during this period. At no time does he appear to have led forces against the Scots, the Durham contingent being noticeably absent from the Battle of the Standard. If, as Helena Chew suggested, the low *servitium debitum* owed by the Bishop of Durham was to enable him to defend the Border against attack, then he seems to have been derelict in his duties [176]. It is anachronistic to see the Bishop of Durham in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries as a Marcher lord. The key to the defence of the North of England lay, not in Durham, but in Northumberland, a fact recognised by, amongst others, Henry I in his establishment of the baronies there during the early decades of the twelfth century [177]. During the period under consideration the aim of the members of the Church of St Cuthbert was, as it had always been, survival.

In conclusion, then, it is necessary to return to the *conventio* which began this investigation into the relations between the Church of

St Cuthbert and the Scottish royal house. It has been argued that ties between Malcolm III and the Church of Durham were non-existent, or, at least, not as strong as historians have believed. There is some doubt as to Turgot's authorship of the *Vita sanctæ Margaretæ*, and there are no extant charters recording any donations to St Cuthbert by the royal couple. The beginnings of a close relationship may be seen in the grants made by Duncan II and Edgar at the end of the eleventh century. The confirmations of these benefactions by Alexander and David I, together with the growth of Margaret's posthumous reputation for sanctity encouraged the improved relationship between the Church of St Cuthbert and the Scots royal house. The covenant drawn up in 1093 was, therefore, justified by the actions of Malcolm III's sons. It may have been a dead letter soon after its composition, but, as the twelfth century progressed, to the monks there seemed to be reason enough to implement its provisions and allow the father to share in the benefits derived from the deeds of the sons. Thus it was that the monks of Durham agreed to remember in their prayers a king who, according to the histories of their own Church, had watched unmoved as his troops had burnt churches and their congregations, laying waste the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, not once, but five times.

Endnotes.

1. *Liber Vitæ Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, (SS, [facsimile], vol. 128), f. 43v. J. Stevenson believed that the *conventio* was written '...in a hand of the twelfth century', *Liber Vitæ Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, (SS, vol. 13), p. 73.
2. The necrology of the Church of St Cuthbert noted that Malcolm and Margaret's anniversary fell on 12 November. LVD, (SS, 13), pp. 147, 152. The text of the *conventio* is printed in LVD, (SS, 13), p. 73 and translated by A.O. Anderson in *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*, (London, 1908), pp. 110-11.
3. LVD, (SS, 13), p. 73.
4. *Singulariter vero pro rege et regina a die obitus sui in conventu triginta plenaria officia mortuorum et cotidie Verba mea fiant. Unusquisque autem sacerdos triginta missas, ceterorum unusquisque x. psalteria cantet.* LVD, (SS, 13), p. 73.
5. Athelstan's name occurs, along with those of Malcolm, Margaret and their sons in the section *Nomina regum vel ducum* of the *Liber Vitæ*, (SS, 13, p. 2).
6. See, for example, LVD, (SS, 13), pp. 71-74.
7. HSC, s. 26, in SMO, I, p. 211. Cf. RBD, p. 525. Athelstan's gift was made when his army, en route for Scotland, halted at Chester-le-Street in 934. In addition, Athelstan's soldiers made a donation of their own to the shrine. (HSC, s. 27, p. 212).
8. Edgar, Alexander and David were all sons of the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret, whereas Duncan II was the son of Malcolm's first wife Ingibiorg, daughter of Thorfinn the Mighty Jarl of the Orkneys and Caithness.
9. Rannulf Flambard secured a writ from Archbishop Thomas I of York granting the Bishop of Durham the administration and archdeaconry of Carlisle. [H.H.E. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Rannulf Flambard', AA, 4th series, (1930), no. iv, p. 38.] The Archbishop also instructed the sheriff of Carlisle to obey the archdeacon of Durham in all matters spiritual 'as you used to do in the time of William, Bishop of Durham' [Craster, 'Contemporary Record', no. v, p. 39]. Finally, Thomas addressed Algar the priest, and forbade him from distributing chrism within the diocese of Durham, '...but contrary to my prohibition, you gave it in Teviotdale of which I found the church of Durham seised,' [Craster, 'Contemporary Record', no. vi, p. 39]. In addition, Prior Turgot was to be found operating as archdeacon of Durham in Lothian when he disinterred the body of Walcher's murderer from its grave in Jedburgh, (HR, II, p. 198).
10. See above, cap. 3 p. 116

11. The *De Obsessione Dunelmi* contains the details of Aldhun's daughter's marriage to Uhtred. (SMO, I, pp. 215-220, at pp. 215-6).
12. HDE, I, Lib. III, cap. ii, pp. 80-81.
13. HDE, I, Lib. III, cap. ix, pp. 90-91.
14. See above, cap. 2.
15. G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Anglo-Scottish Border', NH, (1966), pp. 21-42
16. See, for example, C.M. Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham 1283-1311*, pp. 66-67, 75-76, 129. Bishop Antony Bek was probably present at the siege of Berwick in 1296 and, in 1298, he led the attack on Dirleton castle near Edinburgh.
17. The armies of William I in 1072, Bishop Odo of Bayeux in 1080, despatched to avenge the deaths of Robert Cumin and Bishop Walcher, probably caused as much devastation as any of the invading Scottish forces. (HDE, I, pp. 99-100; HDE, I, p. 118).
18. HDE, I, pp. 90-91; A.O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, sa. 1039, p. 83.
19. Macbeth was defeated in battle on the 'Day of the Seven Sleepers' (27 July 1054), but managed to escape capture until his death in 1057. Macbeth's step-son, Lulach, was killed in the following year thus securing Malcolm's position on the Scots throne. (HR, II, p. 171).
20. *Kinsi Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Egelwinus Dunelmensis episcopus et Tosti comes Eboraci deduxerunt Malcolmum regem ad regem Eadwardum*. (HR, II, p. 174).
21. *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, in SMO, II, p. 382.
22. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, pp. 87-88. See above, cap. 3, p.
23. HR, II, pp. 221-222. Cf. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, pp. 112-113.
24. W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, pp. 91-92.
25. ed. F. Barlow, *Vita Edwardi Regis*, (*The Life of King Edward*), [NMT, (1962)], p. 43.
26. *Aldredus Eboracensis archiepiscopus cum Tostio comite Romam ivit, et a Nicholao papa pallium suscepit. Interim rex scottorum Malcolmus sui coniurati fratris, scilicet Tostii, comitatum ferociter depopulatus est, violata pace sancti Cuthberti in Lindisfarnensis insula*. (HR, II, pp. 174-75).
27. See above, p. 325 and note .
28. For the sources used by Orderic Vitalis for Book IV of his *Ecclesiastical History*, see Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. II, Introduction, pp. xvi-xxix. For the

description of events in the North of England, Orderic made use of the *Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum* of William of Poitiers.

29. HDE, I, p. 99.

30. Edgar the Atheling was the grandson of Edmund Ironside. For his career, see F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 217-18, 244-5.

31. See, for example, D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 225.

32. HR, II, pp. 190-92.

33. HR, II, p. 191.

34. HR, II, p. 191. During his attempt to seize the bishopric of Durham, William Cumin fortified the church of Merrington against his enemies. This was seen by the chronicler of the events as an act of sacrilege and Cumin's troops were ejected by the barons of the see. (HDE, *Continuatio Prima*, p. 158).

35. HR, II, p. 192.

36. HR, II, p. 192.

37. HR, II, p. 196. In Douglas' opinion Malcolm was '...so daunted by the invasion that he consented to negotiate, and the two kings met at Abernethy within a few miles of the Norman ships. As a result, Malcolm gave hostages to William and became his man. Whether such homage was held to involve the kingdom of Alban itself, or merely lands in Cumbria and Lothian is uncertain.' (*William the Conqueror*, p. 227). Whether Malcolm was really 'daunted' or whether he decided that such an act of homage was meaningless with Norman power so weak in the North-East of England is open to question. However, Malcolm's disregard for the treaty was shown in 1079 when he again invaded Northumbria.

38. HDE, I, p. 112. See above, cap. 4, p. 170

39. HDE, I, p. 112.

40. That is, between the Feast of the Assumption of St Mary, (15 August) and the Feast of the Nativity of St Mary, (8 September). ASC [E], sa. 1079. Cf. HR, II, p. 208.

41. See above, cap. 3, pp. 119-23. Cf. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 236-39.

42. ASC [E], sa. 1079.

43. HR, II, pp. 36-8. Through the intervention of these saints, a miraculous mist descended on Hexham. In addition the waters of the river rose without additional rainfall making the fording place impassable. The Scots army, shrouded in the fog, broke up in confusion whilst

Malcolm III, '...thoroughly terrified by so evident a miracle', retreated northward at speed.

44. HR, II, p. 211.

45. *Capitula de Miraculis et Translationibus sancti Cuthberti*, in SMO, II, pp. 338-40, [Cap. X] *Quomodo populus in Dunelmo conclusus a duobus exercitibus liberatus fuerit*.

46. '...King Malcolm came to our king and became his man, rendering obedience to him in all respects as to his father before him, and he confirmed it with an oath.' ASC [E], sa. 1091. (ed. Garmonsway, pp. 226-27). The Miracle story states that, soon after the armies dispersed, Bishop William of St Calais returned from exile, thus confirming the date of 1091. (SMO, II, pp. 340-41, *Denique, cum hostes discessisse lætantur, eadem hora, quod nec speraverant, suum sibi antistitem de exilio reversum congratulantur. Nam cum, portis reseratis, plebs exitura festinaret, ecce! obvii officiales episcopi ingrediuntur, et sui ubique iura ovilis episcopo restituuntur. Magna deinde lætitia, magnas gratiarum actiones, quas iam hostilis fuga pepererat, gratior universis restitutio præsulis cumulabat*).

47. For the annexation of Carlisle and the expulsion of Dolfin, see F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 297-8. Cf. W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, pp. 151-52. Kapelle argues that William Rufus had promised to return Cumberland to Malcolm and that it was his failure to do so which prompted Malcolm's visit in 1093. According to the *Historia Regum*, Malcolm III reached Gloucester, in die festivitatis sancti Bartolomæi apostoli, that is 24 August, 1093, (HR, II, p. 220).

48. HR, II, p. 218; HDE, I, p. 129; *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi Episcopi*, in EHD, II, no. 84, p. 624.

49. ie. the accounts in the *Historia Regum* and the *De Iniusta Vexatione*.

50. Arnold suggested that the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ* was composed between 1104 and 1108, [SMO, I, p. xiv]. Dr Meehan argued that Symeon composed his history shortly after 1104, [B. Meehan, 'A Reconsideration of the Historical Works Associated with Symeon of Durham; Manuscripts, Texts and Influences.' (Unpublished University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1980), p. 250.

51. Dr Meehan has examined the evidence for Symeon's authorship of the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, 'A Reconsideration of...Symeon of Durham', pp. 9-20.

52. P. Hunter Blair, 'Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* of Symeon of Durham,' in N.K. Chadwick [ed.], *Celt and Saxon*, pp. 63-118, at pp. 107-111.

53. H.S. Offler, 'The tractate, *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi episcopi*', BHR, lxvi, (1951), pp. 321-41. Professor Offler dated the composition of the tract to c. 1125-50. Professor Barlow, (*The English Church, 1066-*

1154, p. 281, n. 46), has expressed doubts as to Offler's conclusions, preferring to believe that the tract was compiled much sooner after the events it describes.

54. See above, cap. 4, pp. 145-6

55. On 11 June 1138, David I granted his protection to Tynemouth Priory, (see A.C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153*, no. 119, pp. 91, 358).

56. See below, pp. 342-3

57. Symeon's *Historia* was written at the command of his monastic superiors, (HDE, I, p. 3), and he may, therefore, have been reflecting their official censure of Malcolm's actions in 1093.

58. HR, II, p. 222.

59. Durham's claim to Tynemouth prompted Symeon to comment on the demise of the earl and Abbot Paul of St Albans who, together, were responsible for abstracting the church from St Cuthbert. Paul died after visiting the property, whilst earl Robert was captured in 'the very place which he had plundered from St Cuthbert', (HDE, I, pp. 124-125).

60. 'Thus it happened that, by God's judgement, he himself lost both possessions and life in the same place where he had deprived many of [their] possessions and liberty', (HR, II, p. 222).

61. See *Vita sanctæ Margaretæ* in A.O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, II, p. 83 and note 1. The Durham Obituaries recorded the deaths of Malcolm and Margaret on 12 November, (*ii idus Novmbr'*), LVD, (SS, 13, pp. 147, 152).

62. HR, II, p. 36.

63. HDE, I, p. 108. Cf. RBD, p. 528, where the author reported how William I inquired into the history of St Cuthbert's Church and then donated a mark of gold and confirmed ...*omnia que mei antecessores huic ecclesie sancte Dei genitricis et sancti Cuthberti confessoris in terris et legibus et libertate...*

64. On the 'election' of Donald Bán to the Scottish throne, following the custom of tanistry or collateral succession, see R.L.G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland*, p. 60 and note 3.

65. ed. B. Thorpe, *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, II, p. 21, sa. 1087; Cf. HR, II, p. 214.

66. Both the *ASC* and the *Historia Regum* are explicit on this point that Duncan performed an act of fealty to William Rufus. (*ASC* [E], sa. 1094; HR, II, p. 222; cf. FW, II, p. 32).

67. *Veruntamen post haec illum regnare permiserunt, ea ratione, ut amplius in Scotiam nec Anglos nec Normannos introduceret, sibi que*

militare permetteret, HR, II, pp. 222-23. William of Malmesbury suggests that Malcolm and Margaret's son, Edmund, joined Donald Bán and was responsible for Duncan's death, (*Gesta Regum*, II, p. 477).

68. The fact that, in a charter to be dated to 1095, Edgar was styled rex when he did not gain control of the Scottish kingdom until 1097 has proved a major obstacle to accepting the document as genuine. Professor Duncan suggested that Edgar's style was a statement of his claim to the throne of Scotland, ('The Earliest Scottish Charters', pp. 126-129 adn cf. Donnelly, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters?', p. 9). The document in question is DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 559, [printed, Raine, ND, no. VII; ESC, no. XVI].

69. ASC, E, sa. 1097; cf. HR, II, p. 228.

70. Professor Barlow believed that Edgar's carrying of William Rufus' sword at the crown-wearing of May 1099 acted as a precedent for the service that David I was later to perform for Henry I. (Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 399 and note 251).

71. ASC E, sa. 1107. For Alexander's participation in the campaign against the Welsh, see Orderic Vitalis, XII, xlviii.

72. ASC, E, sa. 1100. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, II, p. 476. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland*, pp. 135-6.

73. G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, p. 173 and note 40.

74. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland*, p. 125.

75. The charters are catalogued among the *Miscellaneous Charters*, a large supplementary class of documents in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral. They have been printed in the appendix to James Raine's *The History and Antiquities of North Durham*, (London, 1852) and among A.C. Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters prior to AD 1153*, (Glasgow, 1905). See also, ed. G.W.S. Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV, 1153-1165*, (*Regesta Regum Scottorum*), i, (1960).

76. See, particularly, A.A.M. Duuncan, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters', SHR, 37, (1958), pp. 103-35. More recently Professor Duncan's conclusions have been re-examined by Joseph Donnelly in 'The Earliest Scottish Charters?', SHR, 68, (1989), pp. 1-22. Donnelly emphasises that there is still some doubt concerning certain aspects of the charters.

77. DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 554, (ESC, no. XII: Raine, ND, no. I). Duncan, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters', p. 119.

78. See above, cap. 2, pp. 51ff.

79. 'Tynninghame in East Lothian was clearly a shire in 1094, even if a reduced one; it had four dependencies and tribute from a fifth, and was held with sake and soke.' (Barrow, *Kingdom*, p. 35).

80. For the destruction of the monastery of St Balthere, see HR, II, p. 94. See map. 2.1. p.50
81. Craster, 'Patrimony', p. 179. Among the relics collected by Alfred Westou were those of St Balthere. It has been suggested that Alfred's acquisitiveness had the purpose of establishing the Church of St Cuthbert's claim to the estates of the Northumbrian monasteries destroyed by the Scandinavian incursions. (See above, cap. 4, pp. 155-6)
82. LVD, (SS, 13), p. 2.
83. See above, cap. 5 , pp. 215-6
84. DC Durham, Misc. Ch. nos. 973, 558. (ESC, no. XVI, pp. 14, 249; eds. T.A.M. Bishop & P. Chaplais, *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to 1100*, nos. 9. 10).
85. Edgar's charter is DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 559, (ESC, no. XV; Raine, ND, no. VII. It is discussed at length by Professor Duncan in 'The Earliest Scottish Charters', pp. 103-118, and by Donnelly in 'The Earliest Scottish Charters ?' pp. 7-14.
86. *Ego Edgarus filius Malcolmi Regis Scottorum totam terram de lodeneio et regnum scotie dono domini mei Willelmi Anglorum Regis et paterna hereditate possidens consilio predicti domini mei Regis Willelmi et fidelium meorum pro animabus patris mei et matris mee.* For a brief account of the significance of this charter for Anglo-Scottish relations, see Donnelly, art. cit.
87. For the components of Coldinghamshire and Berwickshire see Map, 7.2 Among the relics collected by Alfred Westou were those of St Ebba, (HDE, I, p. 88, and see above, note 81).
88. ...*mansionem de Berwic et cum ista mansione has subscriptas mansiones scilicet Greidene, Leinhale, Clilsterhale, Bricgham, Ederham, Cirnesid, Hilton, Blacedre, Cynebrycham, Hotun, Ranynton, Paxton, Fulgeldene, Morderinton, Lamberton, Hedrynton, Fysewyc, Horford, Vpsetyntun...* (DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 559). For the identification of these settlements, see Barrow, *Kingdom*, Map 3, p. 30. On Northumbrian 'shires', see cap. 1, pp. 12-13
89. Duncan, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters', pp. 110-111. It has been argued above, (Cap. 5 , pp. 197ff), that there was no clear division of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert until after the death of William of St Calais in 1096.
90. Edgar himself confirmed the grant of Coldingham in DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 555, (Raine, ND, no. II; ESC, no. XIX), and CV, f. 100v, (Raine, ND, no. III; ESC, no. XVIII).
91. James Raine, (ND, p. 380), names Herbert, who appears in 1151, as the first recorded Prior of Coldingham. Professor Barrow revised the date of Herbert's first appearance to c. 1147, (*Kingdom*, p. 168).

92. For Edward *monachus*, see above, cap. 6, pp. , and H.S. Offler, *Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071-1152*, nos. 19, 21, pp. 91-93 and 95-96.
93. David's writ ordering Edward to supply wood to Berwick is ESC, no. CLXXIV, pp. 137, 398. The grant of a tithe of the Hallowstell fishery is DC Durham, CV, f. 102v, (Raine, ND, no. XXV). The *Cartuarium Vetus* also records David's grant to Coldingham of the fishery made by Swain when he held Fishwick, (DC Durham, CV, ff. 102r-v, [Raine, ND, no XXIV]).
94. Fishwick, DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 558=CV ff. 100v-101r, (Raine, ND, no. VI; ESC, no. XXII); Paxton, DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 557=CV f. 101r, (Raine, ND, no. V; ESC, no. XXI); Swinton, DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 556=CV, f. 100r, (Raine, ND, no. IV; ESC, no. XX).
95. DC Durham, CV 114v [Was Misc. Ch. no. 722]; ESC, no. XXIV, pp. 19, 259; Raine, ND, no. CLXI. Cf. Raine, ND, no. CLXII. Other Scots nobles made grants to St Cuthbert, for example, Earl Gospatric, who, before 1138, granted Ederham and Nesbit to the monks, (ESC, no. CXVII, pp. 90, 355).
96. ESC, no. LXXII, pp. 59, 321.
97. Johannis de Fordun, *Chronica de Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W. F. Skene, V, p. 226. The banner of St Cuthbert is described in *Rites of Durham*, (SS, 15, [1842]), pp. 20-23, 88-90. Cf. revised edition, (SS, 107, [1903]), pp. 26, 94-5. [I owe this reference to Mr A.E. Goodman].
98. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* describes the appearance of St Cuthbert to Alfred the Great before he defeated the Danes in battle. (HSC, ss. 14-19, pp. 204-207). For an analysis of the significance of this passage, see Luisella Simpson, 'The King Alfred/St Cuthbert episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: Its significance for mid-tenth century English history', in G. Bonner et al. *St Cuthbert*, pp. 397-412.
99. ...*præsente Alexandro comite...postea rege...*, (HR, II, p. 236); ...*Alexander frater regis Scottorum Edgari...*, in *Capitula de Miraculis et translationibus*, in SMO, I, p. 258.
100. For Prior Turgot's influence in the bishopric of Durham, see above, cap. 5, pp. 203 ff , note 69. According to Eadmer, (HN, pp. 198-99), Anselm found unseemly Rannulf Flambard's eagerness to have Turgot installed as Bishop of St Andrews.
101. The *Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ*, ed. G.H. Hinde, *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera*, (SS, 51, [1868]), I. A translation of the *Vita* was printed by A.O. Anderson in *Early Sources of Scottish History*, II, pp. 59-88. The text used by the Bollandists gives the authors name as *Theodericus*, (*Acta Sanctorum*, June, II), whereas the manuscript used by Hinde, (BM Cotton Ms. Tiberius, D iii), gives only the author's initial 'T', (SS, 51, p. 236). For a discussion of the manuscripts, see D. Baker, 'A Nursery of Saints; St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', SCH, *Subsidia*, I, pp. 119-41, at p. 129.

102. Barrow, *Kingdom*, p. 190. 'Rarely can that indifference to topographical detail and proper names of every sort, which is the hallmark of the early medieval hagiographer, be more exasperating.'

103. HR, II, pp. 202-5. See also, R.H. Forster, 'Turgot, Prior of Durham', in JBAA, LXIII, (1907), pp. 32-40. It is puzzling that Symeon should not have described Turgot's career in more detail. Perhaps only his connection with the Church of St Cuthbert was important for the author of the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*.

104. HR, II, p. 204.

105. The author of the *Vita* left Margaret's service before her death and had to rely on the account of her last days rendered by her priest. (*Vita*, in Anderson, *Early Sources*, p. 82.

106. Symeon, HDE, p. 127.

107. Turgot was named as the author of the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ* by Selden in his introduction to Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*. See T. Arnold, (SMO, I, Introduction, pp. xix-xx), successfully refuted this argument.

108. The only other Prior of Durham who might have been 'T. servorum s. Cuthberti servus', was the unfortunate Prior Thomas, (1158-62). His candidacy has never been advocated, principally as he belongs to the mid-twelfth century whereas the *Vita* was composed in the early decades of that century.

109. Turgot's authorship of the *Vita sanctæ Margaretæ* has been accepted by, amongst others, A.O. Anderson, (*Early Sources*, pp. 59-60, note 1. Anderson thinks that Symeon's account of the confrontation with Malcolm at Melrose was 'perhaps exaggerated'), R.L.G. Ritchie, (*The Normans in Scotland*, p. 395, 'We find no cause to doubt Turgot's authorship'.), and Professor Barrow, (*Kingdom*, p. 167. D. Baker accepted Turgot's authorship but admitted that 'doubts remain', ('Nursery of Saints', p. 130).

110. See M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, .

111. Turgot's projected visit to Paschal II was probably concerned with the difficulties that he was experiencing at St Andrews. His consecration had been deferred for a year due to his obedience to the Church of York, (see D. Nicholl, *Thurstan of York*, p. 49). Alexander wished to see the Bishop of St Andrews, and the Church in Scotland in general, free from the influence of the southern archbishoprics. (HR, II, p. 204; Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland*, p. 170 and notes 1,2).

112. HR, II, p. 204.

113. Alexander I granted the monks of St Cuthbert, ...*omnia que habebant tam in terris qua in aquis die qua frater meus rex Eadgarus vivus 7 mortuus fuit...*, (DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 561=CV, f. 101r, [Raine, ND, no. IX; REC, no. XXXI, pp. 24, 270]). Alexander also issued two charters

regarding the rights of the monks in Swinton, (DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 562=CV, f. 101v, [Raine, ND, no. X; ESC, no. XXVI, pp. 21, 263]), and see ESC, no. XXVII, pp. 22, 263.

114. Robert was consecrated bishop probably in 1127. See Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 212-213; Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, pp. 172-73.

115. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*, p. 155.

116. William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*, (ed. and trans., P.E. Walsh & M.J. Kennedy), I, p. 101.

117. See Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 199-211.

118. For example, see Ritche, *Normans in Scotland*, cap. IV, 'Scotland's "Norman Conquest" ', pp. 179-224.

119. William of Newburgh, p. 101.

120. David I also made grants to St Cuthbert as 'earl David', (see ESC, nos. XXIX, XXX, pp. 23, 265 and 23, 267). David confirmed Coldingham to the monks by DC Durham, Misc. Ch. 568=CV, ff. 101v-102r. Cf, ESC, nos. LXV, LXXII, LXXXIX, XC, XCIX, C, CI, CVI, CXI, CXX, CXXI, CLIV, CLXXIV, CLXXVIII, [David I]; CXXIX, CXXX, CXXXIII, CXXXIV, CLXXVII, CLXXXIII, CCXXXVI, CCLVII, [earl Henry].

121. See Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 168-69, where it is pointed out that the Priory '...cannot be assigned to a single founder, though it grew from Edgar's gift,' (p. 169).

122. Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 174-75; HR, II, p. 247.

123. Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 178-84.

124. DC Durham, Misc. Ch. no. 570=CV, f. 102v, (Raine, ND, no. XVIII; Lawrie, ESC, no. XCIX, pp. 79, 341.

125. Archbishop Lanfranc's charter replying to Queen Margaret's request was printed by Lawrie, (ESC, no. IX). Professor Barrow discusses the significance of this source for the foundation of Dunfermline Abbey, (Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 193-94).

126. For Lanfranc's ambitions to the Primacy of *Britannie* and the York-Canterbury dispute, see Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 116-131. With the exception of York, the other bishops consecrated by Lanfranc recognised him as *Britanniarum primas*, [see, Gibson, *Lanfranc*, p. 121].

127. For example, Rannulf Flambard had, as York's suffragan, given his support to Archbishop Thurstan during the dispute with Canterbury. Flambard consecrated Thurstan at Bayeux at Whitsun 1115. Donald Nicholl, Thurstan's biographer found Rannulf's loyalty to his archbishop surprising and passes rather scathing remarks about the Bishop of Durham's character, ('Perhaps his years at the royal court had taught

him how to manage the children of this world and to tap what dregs of loyalty they still possessed'. *Thurstan of York*, p. 51).

128. As has been seen, the beginnings of the movement for the independence of the Church in Scotland from the English archbishoprics has been traced to the reign of Alexander I. The re-organisation of the Scottish episcopacy, however, was developed under David I. (Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, pp. 170ff. and p. 331).

129. Barrow, *Kingdom*, p. 194 and notes 16, 17.

130. Eadmer came to Scotland in 1120 and resigned two years later, (Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 170).

131. David I had been the first to swear an oath of loyalty to the Empress in 1127, (Anderson, *Early Sources*, sa. 1127, p. 170).

132. ESC, no. LIV. For the development of these cross-border estates in general, see G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*.

133. Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, in ed. J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, I, p. 88. [*De Bello Standardii*]. For examples of the vulnerability of the Durham estates in Northumberland, see above, pp. 328-35

134. ...et citius munitiones Cumberlandiæ et Northymbriæ, cum populis adjacentibus, optinuit usque Dunelmum... , John of Hexham, *Historia XXV Annorum*, in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I, p. 114; cf. HR, II, p. 287.

135. Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, in Raine, *Hexham*, pp. 71-72. Henry made his homage to Stephen at York.

136. *Reddidit quoque David rex Scottiæ Stephano regi Angliæ quatuor prædicta castella...* [ie Wark (Carham), Alnwick, Norham and Newcastle], Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, p. 72.

137. Richard of Hexham, pp. 77-78.

138. Although Norham had been returned to Stephen in 1136, it was an episcopal castle, and its defence was the responsibility of Bishop Geoffrey-Rufus, (see below). For Tynemouth's charter of protection, see ESC, no. CXIX, pp. 91, 358. The newly founded abbey of Newminster, which, at this time can have been little more than the foundations, was destroyed by the Scots forces, (Richard of Hexham, p. 79, *Hac tempestate, in terra Ranulfi de Merlai, de observantiis Cisterciensium destructum est quoddam coenobium, eodem anno constructum...*).

139. ...et, primo, maritimam provinciam, quam alia vice intactam reliquerat, et, præter hanc, si forte aliquid aliud alibi illæsum præterierat, ac deinde maximam partem terræ sancti Cuthberti in orientali plaga inter Dunelmum et mare, non minori furore et crudelitate quam supradictum est, destruxit. Plurima quoque prædia monachorum, Deo ac sancto Cuthberto die et nocte servientium, et hac et alia vice, pariter cum suis cultoribus, similiter consumpsit. (Richard of Hexham, pp. 81-82).

140. *Sed Sanctus Cuthbertus tandem suorum misertus est. Nam dum sui hæc agerent, rex cum suis militibus haud procul a Dunelmo perhendinabat, ubi, gravi seditione propter quandam feminam orta, Picti ipsum regem cum suis extinguere minabantur.* (Richard of Hexham, p. 82).

141. Papedy was sheriff of Norhamshire and held his fief for service which had to be performed in castello de Norham. See above, cap. 6, pp. 283-4

142. *...quia a domino suo, Gaufrido Dunelmensi episcopo, nullum auxilium sperabant...* (Richard of Hexham, p. 83).

143. *Igitur milites, et alii qui erant in oppido, magnum vituperium incurrerunt, quia, castrum male custodientes, nimis cito defecerunt. Nec solum illi, sed et dominus illorum, quia, non pro sua opportunitate, et temporis necessitate, castrum suum muniverat.* (Richard of Hexham, p. 83).

144. *...mandat episcopo Dunelmensi, quod si relicto Stephano rege Angliæ vellet suæ parti fidelitatem iurare, castrum suum illi redderet, et dampna quæ ei fecerat restauraret. Abnegat episcopus. Fecit ergo rex oppidum destrui.* (Richard of Hexham, p. 83).

145. See Richard of Hexham's account of the Battle of the Standard, pp. 85ff. The Anglo-Norman army was organised by Archbishop Thurstan, (Nicholl, *Thurstan of York*, pp. 227-8).

146. In addition the banner of St Peter also flew over Cowton Moor. *In summitate vero ipsius arboris quandam argenteam pixidem cum corpore Christi, et Sanctorum Petri Apostoli, et Johannis Beverlacensis, et Wilfridi Ripensis, confessorum ac pontificum, vexilla suspenderunt,* (Richard of Hexham, pp. 90-91). The battle was fought near the Church of Durham's estate of Brompton.

147. *...tum quia in talibus conflictibus parum exercitati erant.* (Richard of Hexham, p. 83).

148. See below, pp. 354-7

149. Richard of Hexham, in Raine, *Hexham*, pp. 104-5.

150. *Stephanus rex Angliæ, cum omnibus terris suis quas ante habebat, Henrico, filio David regis Scottiæ, comitatum Northumbriæ, exceptis duobus oppidis, scilicet Novo Castello et Bahanburg, concessit...* (Richard of Hexham, p. 105).

151. Cumin's attempt to usurp the bishopric of Durham has been examined by A. Young in 'William Cumin; Border Politics and the Bishopric of Durham, 1141-1144', *University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research*, [Borthwick Papers, no. 54]).

152. Young, 'William Cumin', p. 11.

153. The main sources for the Cumin episode are the anonymous *Continuatio Prima* to Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, the

chronicle of John of Hexham, (in Raine, *Hexham*, I), and the *Dialogi* of Lawrence of Durham, (SS, 70, [1880], ed. J. Raine).

154. Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, pp. 143-46.

155. Geoffrey-Rufus' body was disembowelled and preserved in salt until Cumin's return, *Defunctus est autem eo absente episcopus die Rogationum secunda, feria scilicet tertia; et nocte sequente, quia cadaver eius aliter teneri non potuit, exineratus atque sale conditus est. Statimque pro celanda morte ipsius castelli introitus etiam ipsis archidiaconibus et priori iuxta solitum eum visitare volentibus interclusus est, et mors eius celata usque sextam feriam*, [Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 143].

156. Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 144.

157. Archdeacon Rannulf is seen by the author of the *Continuatio Prima* as the leader of the opposition to Cumin, (Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 144.

158. Young, 'William Cumin', pp. 14-15.

159. See above, cap. 5, pp. 230ff.

160. This censure of Rannulf Flambard and Geoffrey-Rufus must not, however, be exaggerated. On the whole the criticism was mild, probably because these bishops had proved to be great benefactors of the Church of St Cuthbert, undertaking major building projects and providing for the defence of the city. (See, Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 140, for Flambard's building projects).

161. The rôle of the papacy in the affairs of the English Church was enhanced by the appointment of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, as papal legate. (For a brief resumé of Henry's career, see Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1166*, pp.90-94.

162. Nicholl, *Thurstan of York*, pp. 239-247.

163. Cumin blockaded all the roads out of the bishopric hoping to prevent the electors gathering, (Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 149).

164. Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 146.

165. Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 145.

166. ESC, no. CXXIX, pp. 98, 364.

167. For Roger de Conyers, see above, cap. 6, pp. 28-31. ...*et homagium omnium baronum præter Rogeri de Coyneriis suscipiens...*, (Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 146.

168. Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, pp. 146-147.

169. Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, pp. 147-48.

170. Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, p. 150.

171. After the election of William of Ste Barbe, Cumin's attitude hardened towards the barons of the bishopric. His forces were defeated at Merrington by a baronial force led by Roger de Conyers, Geoffrey Escolland and Bertram de Bulmer. (Symeon, *Cont. Prima*, pp. 150-60).

172. *Gloriosius dixerim, quod frugalitate cotidiana victus et vestitus, sanctitate honestæ conversationis, disciplina morum etiam viris coenobialibus se imitabilem præbuit*, John of Hexham, p. 169.

173. Young, 'William Cumin', p. 27.

174. For a detailed examination of the Lothian franchise of the Church of St Cuthbert, see F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, pp. 117-144.

175. Scammell, HDP, p. 37 and note 1.

176. H.M. Chew, *The English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-chief*, p. 19.

177. See Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, cap. 7, 'Henry I's New Men in the North', pp. 191-230.

Chapter 8. Conclusion.

Towards the end of the twelfth century, the chronicler, Walter Map, commented upon the status of the Bishop of Durham, probably with his contemporary, Hugh du Puiset in mind. Walter wrote that the Bishop enjoyed,

...libertatem æternam in quo nullus minister regius aliquid agere vel attentare potest; episcopi sunt omnes potestates et omnia iura [1].

Walter described the Bishop of Durham as the possessor of a franchise which was free from the interference of the Crown's officers. In the later Medieval period, this *libertas* was equated with the privileges of a County Palatine [2]. The Prince-Bishops of Durham were thought to operate *quasi rex* within the boundaries of the Palatinate, enjoying freedom from royal fiscal exactions and exercising mediatized rights of jurisdiction [3].

The search for the origins of the great Medieval Liberties has preoccupied a number of historians over the last century or so. The case of Durham, in particular, has received a great deal of attention and comparisons have been made with the secular palatinates of Chester and Lancaster [4]. As historians have pointed out, the concept of the late medieval Palatinate was the product of an age in which prescriptive rights were being hardened by definition into rigid legal formulæ. Increasingly, the Crown, armed with the legal treatises of Bracton and Glanvill, sought to limit, or preferably to encroach upon the immunist's position [5]. It is, therefore, a self-defeating exercise to seek Palatinates *per se* in the early Medieval period. This is not to say,

however, that franchises in which individual lords exercised extensive autocratic powers did not exist.

One of the earliest attempts to trace the origins of the Palatinate of Durham was made by William Page at the end of the nineteenth century [6]. Page argued that the privileges enjoyed by the medieval Bishops of Durham were derived from the special relationship which the earls of Northumbria had established with the West Saxon rulers in the tenth century. Northumbria remained, to all intents and purposes, an independent kingdom ruled by earls approved by a powerful local *witan*. Until 1075 the bishopric of Durham was an integral part of the Northumbrian earldom, enjoying no separate franchise. The origins of the Liberty of Durham were to be traced, therefore, to 1075 when Bishop Walcher assumed control of the earldom upon the deposition and execution of Waltheof [7].

Page supported his thesis by examining the relationship of the Bishopric of Durham to the county of Northumberland in the records of central government. Durham's liberty was, he concluded, only effective within the county of Northumberland. Page's theories came under attack in 1900 when Gaillard T. Lapsley published his constitutional study of *The County Palatine of Durham*. Citing Maitland, Lapsley pointed out that, before the Norman Conquest, the Church of St Cuthbert had built up a considerable landed estate and that the grants of ecclesiastical jurisdiction made by the benefactors of the Church of St Cuthbert were probably closely connected with grants of seignorial jurisdiction [8]. For Lapsley the position of the *Haliwerfolc* was of great importance. They were *homines Dei*, men removed from secular lordship and committed to that of the church, in this case represented by St Cuthbert. This was

the origin of the immunity out of which grew the Palatinate [9]. Lapsley suggested that the inception of the immunity was to be found at some period earlier than the twelfth century. Hugh du Puiset was a key figure for Lapsley and it was this Bishop's combination of the privileges of the immunity with a thorough knowledge of the machinery of Henry II's government and great personal ambition, which enabled him to establish the County Palatine [10].

One of the most recent studies of the origins of the Liberty of Durham is that by Dr Hall [11]. Building upon Maitland's arguments, he has traced the beginnings of the franchise to the initial endowment of the Church on Lindisfarne by the Northumbrian kings of the seventh century. Hall examined the pre-Conquest sources for the Church of St Cuthbert and argued that Edmund's grants made *...mid fullom indome et wrec et wite, utter et inner, et saca et socne, id est cum plenis legibus et quietudinibus* in the tenth century were, in fact, conferring extensive fiscal and jurisdictional privileges, the very essence of a great Liberty [12]. Dr Hall's argument is very persuasive, but, like many of his predecessors he failed to emphasise the most important element in any successful franchise; the recognition or confirmation that it exists.

The period 1070-1154 was one of very great change within the bishopric of Durham. The Norman Bishops of the Church of St Cuthbert were as ambitious as Hugh du Puiset and as able to exploit any extensive franchise. The test of any supposed immunity was its practical operation and, in this respect, a brief examination of the relationship between the Bishops and the Crown in this period will determine to what extent

Walter Map's description of the privileges of the Bishops of Durham was well-founded.

There are a number of writs issued by the Norman kings which seem to suggest that the Bishop of Durham did, indeed, enjoy certain privileges in relation to the Crown. In a writ addressed to Thomas, Archbishop of York, William Rufus made it known that St Cuthbert's land was to be quit ...*ab omni opferle castelli ⁊ ab omnib[us] geldis sicut fuit tempore patris mei* [13]. Another writ by William II extended the exemption from geld to all of *Nordteisa* which presumably included Northumbria north of the river Tyne as well as *Haliwerfolc* [14]. Hall suggested that the absence of these areas from *Domesday* was due to the fact that the Crown derived no revenue from Durham and Northumberland [15]. The writ need not imply, however, that before its issue geld was exacted from this region. It may simply be an acknowledgement of an exemption already in existence. The reaction of St Cuthbert to the attempt by Ralph, the tax-gatherer to exact a tribute from the people of the bishopric suggests that the imposition was an unwelcome innovation [16]. In his account of this episode, Symeon makes it clear that it was only after crossing the Tees that Ralph was released from the punishment which Cuthbert had inflicted upon him [17]. Similarly, when William I threatened to execute the leading men of Durham if Cuthbert's body was not found in the cathedral, he was afflicted with an 'excessive heat' which only left him after he had crossed the river Tees [18]. It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that the Liberty, if that is what is being alluded to in these miracle stories, had geographical limits and was not invested in the person of the Bishop or in the Community of St Cuthbert.

The writ of William Rufus which recorded the settlement of a dispute between Bishop William of St Calais and earl Robert de Mowbray assigned to the Bishop ...*dimidium latronem et dimidium fracturæ pacis*... in a number of estates in County Durham [19]. This represents the most explicit indication that the Bishop was enjoying elements of regalian jurisdiction. This has also been seen as evidence of the competence of episcopal courts in matters usually reserved to the Crown.

Dr Hall has argued that the privileges of the Bishop of Durham within the boundaries of the Liberty were in sharp contrast to the situation obtaining outside it. He examined the status of the Bishop's estates in Yorkshire and noted that these lands were the first to be seized by royal officers in the course of the dispute between Bishop William and William Rufus and that between Rannulf Flambard and Henry I [20]. It is noticeable that both William of St Calais and Rannulf Flambard made special reference to the abstraction of their Yorkshire estates and it seems that Bishop Rannulf, in particular, experienced some difficulty in retrieving them [21]. Hall argued that the Yorkshire estates were vulnerable because they were not part of the Liberty [22]. This may have been so but the fact that they were the Bishop's land closest to the king's officers may have had a great deal to do with their seizure.

The bishopric's exemption from fiscal exactions is implied by Durham's absence from the Pipe Rolls, *sede plena*. During vacancies in the see local barons, such as Geoffrey Escolland in 1130, were given the responsibility of collecting the profits of the episcopal *temporalia* [23]. The Bishop also seems to have been quit of scutage payments and the *servitium* due from his enfeoffed tenants may have been charged only

on the fees lying in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. This, again, reinforces the idea that within the boundaries of the Liberty itself the Bishop enjoyed a privileged position [24].

It seems, then, that the indications from the rather sparse evidence from the period, 1071-1154, suggest that Bishop of Durham enjoyed a privileged position in relation to the Crown. This franchise seems to have grown out of the liberties conferred on the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* by the pre-Conquest rulers of Northumbria. The accumulation of substantial landed estates enabled the *Congregatio* to bargain from a position of strength with a succession of political dynasties whose members were ready to recognise the franchise in return for the Church of St Cuthbert's support. According to the late eleventh and early twelfth-century historiographical tradition at Durham, William I added his recognition of the Liberty when he granted,

...omnia que mei antecessores huius ecclesie sancte Dei genitricis et sancti Cuthberti confessoris in terris et legibus et libertate et quietudine contulerunt, tanto firmitus et stabilius a me meisque heredibus et successoribus servari volo et discerno, quanto me meosque heredes et successores omnibus precedentibus regibus dignitate et iusticia precellere cupio...[25]

The pontificates of William of St Calais and Rannulf Flambard provide evidence of the practical relationship between the Crown and the Bishops of Durham.

Both Bishop William and Bishop Rannulf clashed with the successors to William I. In 1088 William of St Calais was arraigned in the *curia regis* for his part in the revolt against Rufus and was forced into exile in Normandy [26]. On the accession of Henry I, Rannulf Flambard was

imprisoned in the Tower of London, later escaping into Normandy [27]. The episcopal lands were seized and the castle of Durham was surrendered to royal control. There is no evidence that either Bishop was able to retreat to his Liberty and claim exemption from royal control. Bishop, William's defence at his trial was the well-worn argument that a member of the Church could not be tried by seculars. Lanfranc, representing the King pointed out that the Bishop was answering for his *temporalia* and not his *episcopalia* [28]. It might be argued that the Bishop was on trial for treason and that this offence has no bearing on the exercise of a privileged franchise, all of the King's subjects, no matter how privileged, were answerable to the *curia regis* on a charge of *lèse majesté* [29]. This, however, is the crux of the question of the medieval immunist's position; it was effective only as long as the source from which it was derived allowed it to be.

The Bishops of Durham in the period 1071-1154 held great ecclesiastical honours and enjoyed the privileges of any great tenant-in-chief within his honour. The ecclesiastical honour of Durham was associated with the *consuetudines sancti Cuthberti* which had accrued to the Church of Durham during the pre-Conquest period, but they relied, for their effectiveness, upon royal consent. The remoteness of the bishopric from the centre of Norman government probably allowed assertive holders of the franchise such as Bishops William and Rannulf to exploit their position within the see, but, whenever the Crown felt that the successor to St Cuthbert had grown too presumptuous the boundaries of the Liberty melted away and the bishopric was taken into the King's hands. It is not, therefore, during the episcopates of the Norman Bishops of Durham that the exercise of Palatine authority should

be sought. At his trial in 1088, William of St Calais was addressed by Archbishop Lanfranc who expressed the King's opinion of the Bishop's status, *Scio te tamen magnum feodum habuisse et inde te iudicavimus* [30]. The Bishop of Durham in the late eleventh and early twelfth century was still a subject of the King, an 'overmighty subject' perhaps, but a subject all the same.

The Norman Bishops of Durham in the period, 1071-1153 presided over a period of great change in the Patrimony of St Cuthbert. With the exception of Walcher and William of Ste Barbe, they were men of administrative ability closely associated with the machinery of royal government. William of St Calais and Rannulf Flambard, in particular, stand out as figures of considerable ability, ready to exploit their opportunities at Durham.

Until the appointment of William of St Calais the Norman hold over the fiercely independent North-East of England was tenuous. A succession of governmental expedients, employed by the Conqueror had failed to make the position of the representative of the Crown secure, whilst the murder of Walcher in 1080 demonstrated that the region was still capable of effective resistance nearly fifteen years after the establishment of the Anglo-Norman kingdom. It is to be doubted whether Walcher was ever secure enough to have instigated the fundamental reorganisation of the estates of the Church of St Cuthbert as Dr Kapelle has claimed [31]. The impression gained from the sources of Walcher's regime is of a relatively small number of Normans reliant upon the co-operation of the local Northumbrian for their survival. The institutions of pre-Conquest Northumbria, particularly the local aristocracy headed by the comital

House of Bamburgh and the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* still held considerable power and the Norman presence in the area would only be secured when the positions of these local interests had been successfully challenged.

William of St Calais' introduction of Benedictine monks to the Church of St Cuthbert in 1083 had political as well as ecclesiastical significance. The dispossession of the members of the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* gave the Bishop of Durham the landed resources which enabled him to encourage the establishment of a Norman landholding aristocracy. The dispossessed members of the *Congregatio* were allowed to remain in the Church of Durham as monks of the Benedictine monastery thus maintaining an association with the saint which could be traced to the late seventh century. It is possible that this Convent, composed of former members of the *Congregatio* enjoyed considerable freedom under the absentee Bishop William, and this precluded any violent reaction to the introduction of the Benedictines.

The nature of the sources for this period and Symeon's preoccupation with William of St Calais' foundation of the monastery in particular, may have obscured other aspects of his pontificate. There are hints that the reorganistaion of the tenurial structure of the bishopric, which becomes clear in the sources for the pontificate of Rannulf Flambard, may have begun under William of St Calais. On the other hand ther is enough ev idence from the time of BishoP Rannulf to suggest that he did much to establish the main features of the feudal structure of Durham. The individuals whom he enfeoffed founded families which continued to dominate Durham society well past the end of the

twelfth century. Particularly noticeable are the number of Flambard's relatives who were established on the honour of St Cuthbert.

Flambard's episcopate was also important in inaugurating the attempt by the Convent to secure its liberties *vis-à-vis* the Bishop. The undefined relationship between Bishop William and his monks broke down on the appointment of Bishop Rannulf who was not only a secular cleric, but also a man whose energies were to be concentrated on the bishopric. It is to Flambard's pontificate that the beginnings of the Convent's attempt to provide itself with a corpus of documents defining its position and [←]can be traced. privileges. These forged charters were to be developed and refined in the pontificate of Hugh du Puiset whose autocratic rule undermined the Convent's position.

There is little evidence to suggest that the Norman Bishops of Durham considered themselves to be in possession of a Marcher lordship. Despite the construction of Norham castle, the Bishops of Durham seem to have attempted to attain a neutral position in the conflicts between the Anglo-Norman and Scottish kingdoms. Bishop Geoffrey-Rufus' inaction in 1138 foreshadows Hugh du Puiset's agreement with William the Lion in 1173 [32]. The concern of the Bishops of Durham in the twelfth century was the preservation of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert and in this they were following a tradition which could be traced back to the ninth century and earlier.

The cult ^{of} St Cuthbert survived the Norman Conquest and reached its zenith in the twelfth century. Only the cult of the martyred Thomas Becket was a serious rival from the 1170s onwards. The cult was modified by the Benedictines established by the Normans. St Cuthbert became a misogynist and his cathedral and all churches associated with him

excluded women. This ban was the result of the dispossession of the *Congregatio sancti Cuthberti* and attacked the status of the source of the continuity of landholding; the wives of the *Congregatio's* members. There was, however, no attempt by the Norman Bishops to attack the cult. St Cuthbert remained the powerful 'undying landlord' of the Church of Durham.

The long pontificate of Bishop Rannulf Flambard dominates the period 1071-1154. In contrast to the unsavoury reputation which he has gained in more general histories of Anglo-Norman England, Bishop Rannulf was remembered in Durham tradition as a great benefactor of the Church of St Cuthbert. The main features of the medieval city were laid out by this energetic Bishop and the building of the most obvious testimony to the Norman presence in Durham, the Romanesque cathedral housing the shrine of St Cuthbert, was largely completed during his pontificate. Flambard's clashes with the Convent were forgotten and the later Medieval monks of Durham remembered him in the following way,

Ranulphus...Ep'us huius loci, et de habitu seculari consecratus. His navem huius Eccl'æ per prædecessorem suum immediatum Will'mum inchoatam ad tectum perduxit. Corpus St. Cuthberti de loco in alaba Eccl'ia, ubi nunc est Tumba in Claustro post annos depositionis eius 418 A^o gr'æ 1109 [sic] incorruptum et flexibile inventum in hanc Eccl'iam ubi nunc transtulit. Inter hanc Eccl'iam et castrum destructis habitaculis in planiciem redegit. Hospitale de Kepeir fundavit veterem pontem de framwelgate in Dunelmia et Castrum de Northam construxit. ac plura ornamenta huius Ecclesiæ reliquit et erat Ep'us 29 annos [33].

Throughout the changes wrought by the Norman Bishops in the ecclesiastical and social structure of the Church of Durham, the incorrupt relics of St Cuthbert remained as a tangible link to the pre-Conquest history of Northumbria. The translation of St Cuthbert's body

in 1104 into the new cathedral was an affirmation of the Norman regime's right to control his Church and Patrimony. As William of St Calais had recognised, the possession of the relics of Cuthbert conferred a legitimacy which no-one in the North-East of England would find easy to challenge. The success of the Norman Bishops at Durham thus rested upon their adoption of a cult which had a continuous history from the seventh century. The Church of St Cuthbert had survived and even prospered from the arrival of the Normans in the North-East of England, demonstrating once again that willingness to reach an accommodation with whoever held political power in the region, whether they were Northumbrian, West Saxon, Dane or Norman.

Endnotes.

1. Walter Map, *De Nugis curialium*, ed. M.R. James, revised C.N.L. Brooke & R. Mynors, (Oxford, 1983), V, vi; cited by F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, p. 173n.
2. The earliest reference to Durham as a Palatinate comes from 1293; see Jean Scammell, 'The Origins and Limitations of the Liberty of Durham', *EHR*, 81, (1966), p. 451.
3. G.T. Lapsley, in particular, viewed the County Palatine of Durham as a microcosm of the kingdom, *The County Palatine of Durham; A Study in Constitutional History*, (New York, 1900).
4. See the bibliographical references given by J.W. Alexander in 'The Alleged Palatinates of Norman England', *Speculum* 56, (1981), p. 17 and notes.
5. Cf. Scammell, 'Origins', pp. 449-73.
6. W. Page, 'Some Remarks on the Northumbrian Palatinates and Regalities', *Archæologia* 51, (1888), pp. 143-55.
7. Cf. Lapsley, *County Palatine*, p. 17.
8. Lapsley, *County Palatine*, pp. 21-25.
9. Lapsley, *County Palatine*, p. 27.
10. Lapsley, *County Palatine*, p. 27.
11. D. Hall. 'The Community of St Cuthbert; Its Properties, Rights and Claims from the Ninth Century to the Twelfth', [Unpublished Oxford, D. Phil. thesis, 1983], pp. 186-211.
12. Hall, 'Community', pp. 199-204.
13. DC Durham, CV, f. 43r. [RRAN, I, no. XCII].
14. RRAN, I, no. LXXV.
15. Hall, 'Community', p. 192.
16. Symeon of Durham, HDE, I, p. 107.
17. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 107. As long as Ralph continued to remain ... in *locis ad episcopatum pertinentibus*... his infirmity continued.
18. Symeon, HDE, I, p. 106.
19. DC Durham, CV, ff. 42v-43r, [FPD, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii; cf., RRAN, I, no. 349].

20. Hall, 'Community', pp. 193-94.
21. See the writs obtained by Rannulf Flambard, in H.H.E. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Rannulf Flambard', in AA, 4th series, (1930), pp. 33-56.
22. Hall, 'Community', p. 193.
23. See *Boldon Buke*, ed. W. Greenwell, (SS, vol. 25, 1852), app. pp. i-iii.
24. See Hall, 'A Note on the *servicium debitum* of the Bishop of Durham', in 'Community', pp. 212-14.
25. Craster, RBD, p. 528.
26. The main source for this episode is the anonymous tract *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi Episcopi*, the title of which betrays its authors sympathies, (see, EHD, II, no. 84, pp. 609-624.
27. HDE, *Cont. Prima*, I, p. 138.
28. EHD, II, p. 618. 'We are not judging you about your bishopric, but about your fief, and in like manner we passed judgement in the court of this king's father on Odo, Bishop of Bayeux'.
29. cf. Hall, 'Community', p. 193.
30. Cf. EHD, II, p. 618.
31. W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, Chapter 6, 'The Impact of the Normans on the Northern Village', pp. 158-190, especially at pp. 180-90. Kapelle attempted to circumvent the lack of Domesday evidence for the bishopric of Durham by examining the *Boldon Book*. He concluded that the episcopal survey provided evidence of a large-scale 'manorialisation' of the estates of the Patrimony. This could only have been accomplished on estates which had been devastated by the Norman harrying of 1070. As a consequence Bishop Walcher was put forward as a likely candidate for the wholesale remodelling of the Patrimony's estate organisation. Dr Hall pointed out that Kapelle failed to take into account the limitations of *Boldon Book* which distorts the tenuous pattern of late-twelfth-century Durham, (see Hall, 'Community', pp. 10-13.
32. See above, cap. 7, pp. 353-354.
33. *Rites of Durham*, p. 141. The inscription was beneath an image of the Bishop *Ad Ostium Chori Ecclesiæ Dunelm. ex parte Australi*.

APPENDICES.

- A. The Benedictine Monks of Durham 1083.
- B. The Estates and Churches claimed by the Convent of Durham in the Twelfth Century.
- C. The *Liber Translationibus et Miraculis sancti Cuthberti*; The Making of a Medieval Miracle Collection.

Note.

The text of Appendix C has been accepted for publication by the Editor of the periodical *Northern History*.

Appendix A.

The Benedictine Monks of Durham 1083.

The Cotton Ms of Symeon's HDE, records that twenty-three monks made up the original monastic complement of 1083. [See HDE, I, p. 122 and p. 131, 173 above]. In the *Prefatio* to the earliest manuscript of the HDE, (DUL, Cosin's Library, VII, 6, f. 7 r-v), there is a list of some 239 names which have been taken to represent members of the monastic community. Of this list 73 names appear to have been written in a hand contemporaneous with the bulk of the manuscript, suggesting that these are the names of monks at Durham between 1083 and 1104-7. Dr Meehan has identified at least five other hands apart from the original.[1] It is possible to examine this list of twenty-three names by making reference to the sources available for late eleventh-century Durham. Also by looking at the provenance of the names recorded it may be possible to comment on the racial mix in the Convent in 1083.

The names of the monks are examined in the order in which they appear in the Cosin's manuscript. [2]

1. Aldwin (OE) Prior of the Benedictine Convent, 1083-87. Originally Prior of Winchecombe, but in 1073 or 1074 led a small band of monks into Northumbria. Originally settled at *Muncaceastre* but later given the derelict churches of St Paul's, Jarrow and St Peter's, Wearmouth by Bishop Walcher. Made an unsuccessful attempt to re-establish the religious life at Melrose. Origin. Southern English ?
[See Symeon, HDE, I, Lib. III, caps. xxi-xxii, pp. 108-113. Refs. HDE, I, pp. 127; HR, II, pp. 201, 204, 213]

2. Elfwy (OE) A deacon of the church of Evesham, he joined Aldwin's expedition to Northumbria. On the latter's departure for Melrose he was appointed Abbot of St Paul's, Jarrow, (1075) Origin. Southern English ?
[See, HDE, I, pp. 109, 111; HR, II, p. 201.]

3. Willelmus. (OG/F). Reginald of Durham, *Libellus* cap. xl states that a certain William and Henry *Havegrim* were present at the 1104 translation. If he is correct, then William may have been English despite his Norman forename. Name also occurs at nos. 35, 52. Origin, Northumbrian ?

4. Leofwin. (OE) Appointed sacristan of the Convent by Bishop William of St Calais. May have been the dean of the *Congregatio* or possibly the son who persuaded him to become a monk. Was among those present at the opening of St Cuthbert's coffin in 1104, encouraging his fellows to press on with the investigation. Origin. Northumbrian ?
[See HDE, I, p. 123 ; pp. 247-61].

5. Wulmar. (OE) A monk at Jarrow. According to the HR, he was sent by Aldwin to perform divine services at the Church of Tynemouth. Origin. East Anglian ? [Von Feilitzen, pp. 421-22, gives only one occurrence, in Suffolk, of the name. [See HR, II, p. 260]

6. Turgot. (ON) A clerk and native of Lincoln who was kept as a hostage by the Normans after the conquest. He purchased his freedom and made his way to Norway from Grimsby. There he became a confidante of King Olaf and profited from his patronage. On his return to England he was shipwrecked and lost all his possessions. Turgot made his way to Durham and informed Bishop Walcher of his desire to become a monk. He joined Aldwin at Jarrow and soon became a close companion. He became Prior in succession to Aldwin in 1087. In 1107 he was elevated to the Bishopric of St Andrews, but, after an unsuccessful tenure of the office he returned to Durham where he died, 1115. Origin. Lincolnshire. [See, HDE, I, pp. 111, 127, 129; HR, II, pp. 198, 202-5, 220, 241, 249, 261; Turgot was probably the *memoratus praepositus* of the miracle stories compiled at Durham in the early twelfth century, pp. 338, 341, 343, 355-6, 362].

7. Edwin. (OE). A monk of Jarrow. Possibly a native of the North East of England as the name was that of the first Christian king of Northumbria, although it was a common Anglo-Saxon personal name.

8. Turkill. (ON). A monk of Jarrow. After the removal to Durham, Turkill was sent to the church of Tynemouth, probably as the Conventual officer there. He restored the church and its roof and lived there until driven out by earl Robert de Mowbray. Origin. Northumbrian? [See, HR, II, p. 261]

9. Columbanus. A monk of Jarrow and Durham. His name may suggest Northumbrian or Scots origin.

10. Elfwin. (OE) The name also occurs at no. 63. Origin southern English ?

11. Godwin. (OE) The name was one of the commonest Old English personal names, indeed it occurs three times in the first twenty-three, at nos. 11, 16, 18. According to Reginald of Durham, [*Libellus*, caps. xl-xliii] a Godwin was, with Osbern, one of two sacrists present at the translation of St Cuthbert

12. Elmarus. (OE *Aethelmaer*; however, the form *Aylmer* was brought to England by the Normans). Origin. Uncertain.

13. Helias. A monk of Jarrow and Durham. Name derived from Elijah and thus difficult to assign to English or French origin.

14. Swartebrand. (ON) According to Symeon, a certain aged priest by this name frequently attested to having seen the incorrupt right arm of King Oswald. Swartebrand may have been a member of the pre-1083 *Congregatio* who decided to join the Convent. He died before 1096. Origin. Northumbrian ? [See HDE, I, p. 21]

Other possible members of the *Congregatio* who joined the Benedictine Convent are; Barnanus, (who had a vision of SS Cuthbert and Oswald in 1069-70 and appears at no. 26), HDE, I, pp. 102-4. The episcopal chaplains and the son of Feoccher who attested to having heard the priest describe the miracle of the Eucharist, HDE, I, pp. 93-94; the

priest Elfwald who was sent from Durham to assist the monks of Jarrow in administering the church of Tynemouth, HR, II, p. 260; and Gamel, see below, no. 15.

15. Gamel. It has been suggested above that Gamel may have been either the *Gamel Elde* or *Gamel Iunge* who was appointed to serve the church of Hexham by Alfred Westou. Symeon records that Alfred used to show Gamel an indestructible hair from Cuthbert's head, which suggests that Gamel was a member of the *Congregatio*, and thus another link between the pre- and post-1083 Communities of the Church of St Cuthbert [HDE, I, pp. 87-90] Gamel died before 1104-7. Origin. Northumbrian?

16. Godwin. [See no. 11 above]

17. Wiking. (ON) According to Reginald of Durham, Wiking was one of those who examined Cuthbert's body in 1104. [*Libellus*, cap. xli]

18. Godwin. [See no. 11 above]

19. Egelric. (OE). A monk of Jarrow and Durham. Offler, DEC, p. 85 thinks it unlikely that this man is the monk *Ægelr'* who is the recipient of a writ of Bishop Ranulf Flambard concerning the tithe of the episcopal manor of Howden. Offler prefers the *Ægelredus* who appears 58th on Symeon's list. [DEC, no. 15, (c. 1122-28). Origin. English.

20. Seulfus. (OE *Saewulf* [Von Feilitzen, p. 355]) The name occurs in Buckinghamshire and Somerset which suggests that Seulf was from the South of England.

21. Gregorius. According to Withycombe this name was not found in England before the Norman Conquest, which suggests that he was a French monk. possibly one of Walcher or William of St Calais' entourage.

22. Edmund. (OE) This name also occurs at nos. 27, 46, 73]. Origin. English.

23. Rotbert. The name suggests a monk of French origin, but, as has been seen with William above, this conclusion may be misleading. The name also occurs at nos. 59 and 68.

As can be seen from the above the majority of the first monks at Durham in 1083 seem to have been of Anglo-Saxon origin. Even those with French names may also have been, like William and Henry *Havegrim*, Englishmen. When the other names of the list of seventy-three are examined, this predominance of Anglo-Saxon names is confirmed, although, as one might expect the number of foreign names increases as the list lengthens. [See HDE, I, pp. 4-6]

There is evidence to suggest, therefore, that Symeon's description of the recruits for Jarrow and Durham coming from Northumbria, the south, and even the remoter parts of England, may be justified, [see above, ¹³¹note 176.] However, there is reason to believe that a significant number of those monks who came from the North East of England had once been members of the pre-Benedictine *Congregatio* of St Cuthbert, and that

Symeon deliberately obscured this fact in order to advance his theme of *renovatio* in the Church of St Cuthbert.

Notes to Appendix.

1. See B. Meehan, 'Outsiders, Insiders and Property at Durham around 1100', SCH, 12, [ed. D. Baker], pp. 45-58, at pp. 57-58. A similar, though not identical list occurs in the LVD, ff. 42 r-v; SS, vol. 136, (1923), [facsimile] ed. A. Hamilton Thompson.

2. The etymological details in this section have been taken from; E.G. Withycombe, *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* (2nd. Ed., Oxford, 1950) and Olaf von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Nomina Germanica, 3, [Uppsala, 1937].

Key.

ON Old Norse.
OE Old English.
OG Old German.
OF French.

Appendix B

The Estates and Churches claimed by the Convent of Durham in the Twelfth Century.[1]

Ego Willelmus, c.1107 x 1123.

(British Museum, Cotton Ms Domitian A.vii
Liber Vitæ Dunelmensis, ff. 49-50; ptd. DEC,
no. *3, pp. 6-8)

Billingham cum omnibus suis appendiciis
[Billingham] [2]

Aclea cum suis appendiciis
[Aycliffe] [3]

Cattun
[Ketton, (Aycliffe)]

Gyrvum cum suis appendiciis
[Jarrow] [4]

[Hebburn, Monkton
Heworth
Follingsby]

aquilonalem Wiramutham cum suis appendiciis
[South Wearmouth]

Southwick, Fulwell
Westoe, Harton,
Simonside?, Hedworth] [5]

Charter of John, 1204.

(Durham, DC, 3.1. Reg. 16
ptd. FPD, pp. 94-97)

Billingham cum ecclesia
eiusdem villae et omnibus
eis adiacentibus

Cupum, [Cowpen Bewley,
Billingham] cum tota
terra sua
de Wulueston' [Wolviston]

Bermeston' [Barmpton]

Skirnigeham [Skirningham]

Acle et ecclesiam eiusdem
villae

Wudum [Woodham,
(Aycliffe)]

Kettone

Ferie [Ferryhill,
(Merrington)]

ecclesiam Sancti Johannis
cum villa sua

Girwuum cum ecclesia sua
et piscariis de Tine,
ecclesiam Sanctae Hildae,
Heb'me, Munketon',
Hewurth' et aliam
Hewrth', Foletteby cum
omnibus eisdem terris vel
ecclesiis adiacentibus...

Wermuth' cum ecclesia
eiusdem villae et omnibus
adiacentiis suis,
Suthewich, Fulewell',
Wiuestou', Hertedon',
Preston', Hethewrth'

Reinuintun
[Rainton, Cocken]

duo Pittindunas
[Pittington]

Haeseldene
[Monk Hesleden]

Daltun

Maerintun
[Merrington]

[Middleham]

Scinneclif
[Shincliffe, (St Oswald's, Durham)]

AElvet
[Elvet]

Wiflintun cum suis appendiciis
[Willington]

Wallesende cum suis appendiciis

Reynton' et aliam Reinton
cum villa de Cochen'

Pitindon' cum ecclesia
eiusdem villae, et aliam
Pittindon'

Moreslawe [Moorsley]

Herdwic [Hardwick]

Heselden' et aliam
Hesleden cum ecclesia
eiusdem villae et
adiacentibus suis

Daltonam cum ecclesiam
eiusdem villae

Heldun' [Hetton]

Merigton' et aliam
Merigton' cum
pertinentiis earum

ecclesiam de Middleham
cum capella et terris
adiacentibus

Trellesden [Tursdale]

Sineclive

Steindrope et
Steindropesire cum
ecclesia [Staindrop] [6]

Burdonam [Burdon,
(Houghton-le-Spring)]

Blecheston' [Blakiston]
[7]

terras quas habent in
Dunelm', et ultra pontem
cum gardino, Eluet' cum
ecclesia eiusdem villae

Wiuelington' cum
pertinentiis suis

Walesend' cum capella sua

[Wallsend]

Lindisfarnensis ecclesia...cum villa sibi
adiacente...Fennum

Norham...cum sua villa...Scoreswurthin

terram...in Crameligton'
[Cramlington]

in Tine flumine, unam
piscariam, quam Nicholaus
de Grenevill' dedit

Fennum [Fenham] et quod
habent in
Ellewic

insulam Farne cum aliis
insulis adiacentibus

ecclesiam de Norham cum
capellis etc., et villam
de Sorwurth'

Ultra Tuedam flumen,
Coldingeham cum
ecclesia...et omnibus ad
eam pertinentibus,
videlicet, Aldecambus cum
ecclesia, Lumesdenes,
Reinton', et Grenewud',
et duas Ristonas,
Aldegrave, Suinewud', et
duas Eytonas cum
molendinis et portu,
Prendelgest cum molendino
Ederham et ecclesiam
eiusdem villae cum
omnibus capellis suis,
duas Suintonas cum
ecclesia, duas
Lambertonas cum ecclesia
[8]

ecclesiam de Berewic

Fiswich cum ecclesia

Paxton'

Nesebite

ecclesiam de Edenham cum
capella de Stichil

et insuper omnia quae in
Lodoneio possident, pro
voluntate monachorum
Sancti Cuthberti

in Snotingham scire;
Normantun

Bunningtun
Kynestan

Gatham

in Lincolne scire

Bliburch [Blyborough] [11]

in civitate Eboraca ecclesiam sancte Trinitatis
[12]

disponenda sicut carta
AEggari Regis Scottorum
testatur [9]

ecclesiam de Bellingeton'
cum capella de Cambus

In Notinghamsire; [10]
Normanthon' ecclesiam
[and land]
Bunigaton'
Kinestan
Barthon'
Gatham
in Notingeham, [land
specified]
Chirlingegastoca

In Lincol' terram quae
fuit Wulgeti et terram
quam Hunfr' dedit

Cleteham

in Bliburg ecclesiam et x
bovas terras

Steinton

ecclesiam de Kirkaby [and
land] cum capella de
Birchewud'

ecclesiam de
Bissopetorp'...et decimas
suas de Wispinton'

Torkeseye

apud Stanford' ecclesiam
Beatae Mariae iuxta
pontem...extra burgum
monasterium S.
Leonardi...et dimidiam
bovatam terrae in
Ripingahal', et ecclesiam
minorem S. Mariae

in Eborac' ecclesiam
Omnium Sanctorum, et
ecclesiam S. Petri, et
ecclesiam Sanctae
Trinitatis

citra Tesam flumen;
 [churches of...], [13]
 de Aluerton'
 Materebrunton' cum
 capella de Dicton' et cum
 capellis et pertinentiis
 suis
 Werkeshale
 Siggeston'
 Holteby cum...terra
 Scipwiz cum...terra
 [land, etc. in...]
 Evertorp'
 Cave
 Grentingeham
 Luchefeld
 Clif'
 Apelton '
 villam de Hemmingeburg'
 cum ecclesia (etc.)
 Brakenholm
 Grimestorp'
 ecclesiam de Houeden
 cum...capella de
 Estrinton'
 ecclesiam de Welleton'
 ecclesiam de Walkinton'
 ecclesiam de Brentigeham
 cum capella de Alrecher
 Hundesley
 Middelhil
 Droeton'

Notes

1. See above, cap. 5, p. , note 124.
2. Offler, DEC, no. *3, pp. 9-10.
3. Offler, DEC, no. *3, pp. 10-11.
4. Offler, DEC, no. 2a, p. 3.
5. Offler, DEC, no. 2b, pp. 3-4.
6. Grant of the estate of Staindrop and Staindropshire by Prior Algar and the Convent of Durham, [1131], FPD, p. 56n.
7. Rannulf Flambard's grant of Blakiston, *inter alia* to his nephew, Richard, DEC, no. 23, pp. 100-106.

8. For the components of 'Coldinghamshire' see, G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 31-2.
9. Charter of Edgar of Scotland, Durham, DC, Misc. Ch. 559. See A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters', SHR, 37, (1958), pp. 103-35.
10. Offler, DEC, no. *3, pp. 12-13.
11. See Kathleen Major, 'Blyborough Charters', *A Medieval Miscellany for D.M. Stenton*, eds. P.M. Barnes, C.F. Slade, (PRSoc), ns. 36, [1962], pp. 203-219.
12. Offler, DEC, no. *3, pp. 13-14.
13. See F. Barlow, DJP, cap. II, 'The Yorkshire Franchise', pp. 53-115.

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The *Liber de Translationibus et Miraculis sancti Cuthberti* : The making
of a Medieval Miracle Collection. (1)

Under the auspices of the first two Norman appointees to the bishopric of Durham, Walcher (1071-1080) and William of St Calais (1080-1096), Benedictine monks were re-established among the ruins of the ancient monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. In 1083 the personnel of these refoundations were brought together and transferred to Durham where they replaced the members of the quasi-monastic community or *Congregatio* of St Cuthbert.

The first decades of Norman rule in Durham were a period of considerable change punctuated by violent incidents. In January 1069, the first Norman appointed to the Earldom of Northumbria was assassinated at Durham. (2) In 1080 Bishop Walcher and his household were slaughtered at Gateshead after one of the episcopal officers had murdered a member of the House of Bamburgh. (3) Each of these acts of violence brought a Norman punitive expedition to the North-East and the

construction of castles, those archetypal symbols of Norman domination, at Durham and at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.(4) As well as building new fortifications, the Normans changed the architectural face of the North-East in another, striking way. In 1093 the Anglo-Saxon cathedral of Durham was demolished and the foundation stones of the Romanesque cathedral were laid by Bishop William of St Calais and Turgot, Prior of the convent.(5)

Once the monastic community had become established, there began a series of historical writings which were designed to link the new Benedictine house with the Northumbrian traditions surrounding St Cuthbert. Most notable amongst this corpus of material is the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* usually attributed to Symeon, an inmate of the monastery who seems to have composed his chronicle at the beginning of the twelfth century.(6) Symeon's work drew heavily on the pre-monastic(7) historical tradition at Durham represented in particular by two shorter works known as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*(8) and the *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*(9). In each of these historical works the reader's attention is drawn to the thaumaturgical powers of St Cuthbert and the miracles which God had performed through Cuthbert were recorded for the edification of future generations.

The origins of Cuthbert's cult may be traced to the end of the seventh century. In 698, eleven years after the death of the Bishop-Abbot, the monks of Lindisfarne decided to translate his body from its tomb and place the bones in a more accessible chest '...so that they might be more worthily venerated'.(10) According to the two earliest accounts of the translation, the monks found that Cuthbert's body had

not decayed at all whilst it had lain in its sepulchre. (11) The discovery was described in the *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo*,

...on first opening the sepulchre, they found a thing marvellous to relate, namely that the whole body was as undecayed as when they had buried it eleven years before. The skin had not decayed nor grown old, nor the sinews become dry, making the body tautly stretched and stiff; but the limbs lay at rest with all the appearance of life and were still movable at the joints. (12)

In his slightly later account Bede remarked that the monks '... found the body intact and whole, as if it were still alive and the joints of the limbs flexible, and much more like a sleeping than a dead man'. (13) The discovery of St Cuthbert's incorrupt body was a posthumous confirmation of his exemplary mode of life, and of the fact that he had been elevated to the ranks of the Christian sainthood. It was also an indication that those miracles which he had performed in his lifetime would continue despite his death. From the end of the seventh century Cuthbert's cult grew until, by the time of the Norman occupation of England, Cuthbert was regarded as the most powerful thaumaturge in Northern England. (14)

In the intervening period St Cuthbert's relics had undergone a series of further translations occasioned by the Viking raids of the late eighth and ninth centuries and by the Scandinavian settlement of Northern England. The monastic community evacuated Lindisfarne in 875 and, after resting for over a century at Chester-le-Street (883-995), Cuthbert's body was brought to Durham and installed in a church built by Bishop Aldhun. (15) It is thought that, by the late tenth century, the ecclesiastical corporation centred on the saint's relics had

metamorphosed from a Benedictine monastic foundation, albeit with strong Celtic connexions, into an ill-defined *Congregatio* of quasi-monastic clerks who performed monk-like offices yet who took wives and fathered offspring. (16)

Meanwhile, interest in Cuthbert's sanctity had grown through the dissemination of the works of Bede who had included the story of Cuthbert in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Later, requests, both from the British Isles and the Continent, came to Northumbria from other religious corporations, anxious to obtain copies of Bede's *Vita sancti Cuthberti Prosaica*. As with other medieval hagiographies, it was usual to add accounts of any miracles which had been performed by the saint after his death. At the beginning of the twelfth century a set of seven miracle stories, the majority of which were embellished versions of events recorded in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, were to be found attached to manuscripts of Bede's *Vita Prosaica*. (17) By the middle of the twelfth century another collection of miracle chapters, together with a lengthy account of the *translatio* of Cuthbert in 1104, had been added to the previous group. Together the twenty-one chapters of this miracle compilation became known as the *Liber de translationibus et miraculis sancti Cuthberti*. (18)

This compilation was examined in some detail by Bertram Colgrave. The purpose of his study was to establish the relationship between the miracle stories and the other eleventh, and twelfth-century, sources for the history of the Church of Durham. In addition, Colgrave hoped to be able to date the miracles and suggest an author for them. He argued that the compilation might be divided into three distinct sections determined by the sources from which the various *capitula* were drawn, by the date

of their composition, and by certain stylistic features which seem to link some of the miracle stories together. (19) The first set of six (or possibly seven) *miracula* were abstracted from the historical tradition of the pre-monastic community at Durham and dealt with events in the bishopric and beyond from the time of Alfred the Great until the end of the Conqueror's reign. (20) The first four miracles are, as Colgrave demonstrated, based on sections of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and the next three exhibit features which suggest links with the first four. (21) In addition, Colgrave was convinced that Symeon of Durham had had this group before him when he was compiling his *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*. The composition of this first group was dated to the period *circa* 1083-1104.

Colgrave's second group of miracles seemed to be connected primarily by the appearance in them of the Prior of Durham who held office *regnante Willelmo iuniore*. This unnamed prior was identified as Turgot who held office from 1087 to 1107 when he was elevated to the see of St Andrews. (23) The author of this group of *miracula* obtained his information from the oral testimony of eye-witnesses. (24) The author himself remains anonymous but was, most probably, a monk of the recently re-founded Benedictine monastery at Durham. (25) Colgrave suggested that the composition of this second group of miracle-stories might be dated to the period *circa* 1100-1115. (26)

The final section of the *Liber de translationibus et miraculis sancti Cuthberti* is made up of three chapters related to the translation of St Cuthbert's body into the Norman cathedral in 1104. (27) The centre-piece of this group, and, indeed, of the whole compilation, is the lengthy exposition of how the monks of Durham examined the coffin of the

saint and found, to their astonishment, that Cuthbert's body remained incorrupt after almost four centuries. (28) In words consciously echoing those of Bede's account of the earlier *translatio*, the author of the miracle story reports that,

...behold, they found the venerable body of the Blessed Father, the fruit of their anxious desire, lying on its right side in a perfect state, and, from the flexibility of its joints representing a person asleep rather than dead. (29)

The discovery of Cuthbert's miraculously incorrupt body in 1104 was as important to the survival and further growth of the saint's cult in the central middle ages as the discovery in 698 had been to its establishment. The date of the composition of this *translatio* group of miracles appears, from internal evidence, to have been some twenty years after the events described and may even have been as late as after the death of Bishop Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128). Although suggestions have been made as to the authorship of this group, it remains in doubt and all that can be said with any degree of certainty is, again, that the author was probably a monk of the monastery at Durham who might well have been present at the actual inspection of the body. (30)

Medieval hagiographies and miracle collections have to be treated with caution by historians and, to some, the value of such works is wholly compromised by the nature of the events which they claim to record. (31) As a result there is a tendency to regard *miracula* as being, in some way, timeless and standing apart from the period in which they were produced. This attitude has encouraged a certain reluctance to place the *miracula* firmly in their historical context. More recently,

however, these documents have been seen as a valuable part of the corpus of sources available to the medieval historian. Used with care a miracle compilation such as that examined by Colgrave can reveal something, for example, of the history of the particular shrine upon which it was centred. The *Liber de translationibus et miraculis sancti Cuthberti* made at the church of Durham in the first decades of the twelfth century reveals, above all, the perceptions and concerns of the compiler himself and, in broader terms, those of the monastic community of which he was a part.

The miracle compilation produced at Durham during the first half of the twelfth century was not a random selection of tales about Cuthbert's thaumaturgical powers. The content of the *miracula* represents a conscious attempt to respond to the pressures experienced by the monastic guardians of Cuthbert's relics in the opening decades of the twelfth century. Just as Symeon had a specific purpose which inspired the composition of his *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, so the compiler of the miracle collection discussed here sought to represent a particular set of views which he hoped would enhance the reputation of the saint and, by association, bolster the position of the monastic community which tended his tomb. In this respect, it is important to examine the typology of the miracle stories in the collection and look beyond the central, supernatural, action of each piece to the background and contextual material which does much to illuminate this period of Durham's history.

There are two basic types of miracle recorded in medieval hagiographical sources. There are those which we might term 'Old Testament' miracles which are characterised by stories of saints acting

in the manner of latter-day Jehovahs, punishing those who offend them and rewarding those who honour them. Secondly, there are the more compassionate, 'New Testament' type of miracles which, invariably, display the more humane side of the saint and which usually illustrate his or her ability to intercede with God on behalf of the infirm or dying. The characteristic miracle of this second, 'New Testament' type is the partially or wholly restorative cure, often, but not always delivered at the shrine and involving some personal relic of the saint, such as a piece of his or her clothing or an artefact of some special significance. Sister Benedicta Ward has suggested that the typology of miracles in any particular collection often indicates, or is related to, the fortunes of the shrine with which it is associated. (32) In other words, we might be able to judge what stage of development a particular cult had reached when the miracle collection was made. A pattern emerges which, Sister Benedicta argues, is observable at more than one medieval shrine. She is speaking particularly of the miracle collection made by Reginald of Durham in the late twelfth century when she writes,

Miracles, including cures, are recorded during the life of a saint and his posthumous cult begins with cures at his tomb. A period follows when the needs of the shrine are paramount and are formulated in records of judgements and acts of power by the saint as patron of his own people. Cures and acts of mercy towards pilgrims to the shrine continue alongside the miracles of power to flourish and gradually balance the more ferocious miracles as the shrine becomes established and has less need of asserting its position. (33)

Bearing this thesis in mind we might predict that the 'miracle profile' of a particular shrine would be likely to develop in the following manner. Initially, we would expect to find a preponderance of the New

Testament type of miracle attributed to the saint whilst he or she was alive. This type of miracle would also be found in the early years of the saint's posthumous cult. Often the curative powers of the saint are discovered by accident and only after all other remedies have been tried. For example, one of the earliest miraculous cures performed posthumously by St Cuthbert at Lindisfarne was described in the *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo*. A novice from another monastery was brought to Lindisfarne in the hope that the medical skill of the monks there would cure his paralysis. After some time no remedy had been found and, as a last resort, the boy asked to be allowed to wear Cuthbert's shoes as his affliction had begun in his feet. The miracle was worked overnight and the boy was able to walk home. (34) The important details in this story are, first, the fact that the reputation of the monks of Lindisfarne as physicians was what initially drew the cripple to Holy Island. Secondly, no-one seems to have considered using anything associated with Cuthbert until all else had failed. These are the characteristics of a miracle performed in the early stages of a cult's development.

As well as the working of miraculous cures, St Cuthbert's posthumous career as a thaumaturge was marked most dramatically by the discovery of his incorrupt corpse. This phenomenon advertised Cuthbert's sainthood and, together with the circulation of stories reporting cures, increased the fame of the shrine and attracted the attention of pious benefactors. Unfortunately, gifts of land and precious items to the saint would, in their turn, attract the interest of malefactors. In such circumstances 'Old Testament' miracles were performed and

predominate as the saint rewarded those who had given generously to his church and punished those who had sought to abscond with these offerings. Finally, once the cult had become more secure and well established, the curative miracle would tend to rise in relative importance until it would dominate shrine collections and thereby act as an advertisement for the efficacy of a pilgrimage to the cult centre. Thus, one might argue that the composition of a miracle collection at a particular shrine would reflect, in the type and in the relative proportions of those types of *miracula* recorded, the fortunes of the church at the time that the miracle collection was made and the stage of development which had been reached by the cult.

This thesis may be tested on the typology of the miracles recorded in the sources for the history of the shrine of St Cuthbert. 'New Testament' miracles and the discovery of the incorrupt corpse of the saint in 698 established Cuthbert's claims to sanctity. (35) During the uncertain period of the Danish invasions and settlements in the ninth and tenth centuries, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* recorded miracles of the characteristic 'Old Testament' variety. Members of the royal house of Wessex, for example, were rewarded with victories in battle for their generous gifts to the church of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, whilst, on the other hand, acts of aggression by the Danes or Scots were severely punished. (36) By the beginning of the twelfth century Cuthbert's shrine had been established at Durham for over a century and the cult itself had a continuous history of over four hundred years. An examination of the miracle collection made by the monk, Reginald of Durham, in the last quarter of the twelfth century shows, as one might expect, a preponderance of curative miracles. By the time at which

Reginald was writing the cult of St Cuthbert was firmly secure in the North-East and so the saint seems to have concentrated on performing the sort of miracles which would further encourage pilgrimage to Durham. (37) The characteristics of the early twelfth-century miracle collection produced by the monks at Durham may now be examined within the context of the foregoing discussion, and will, it is hoped, tell us something of the fortunes of the church of St Cuthbert in that period.

As has been mentioned, the decades following the establishment of a monastic community at Durham by Bishop William of St Calais in 1083 were a period of severe upheaval when there was a very real danger that Cuthbert's cult might suffer a catastrophic diminution of prestige. There are clear signs that the Norman regime was trying to associate itself with Cuthbert's cult and, at the same time, was attempting to detach the saint's church from the more separatist features of its Northumbrian past. Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* demonstrates this policy in action as his account sets out to justify the expulsion of the secular Congregation of St Cuthbert and its replacement with Benedictine monks in 1083. The Congregation had, from the time of its arrival in Durham, in 995, close links with the comital house of Northumbria. (38) The shrine has been seen as a rallying point for the rebellion against William I which was signalled by the killing of Earl Robert de Comines and his army of 700 men. (39) These were reasons enough for the Norman regime to attempt to re-direct the potency of Cuthbert's cult towards their own ends. Symeon argued that the *Congregatio* had become worldly and, therefore, unworthy of tending a relic as holy as that of the incorrupt body of St Cuthbert. (40) Symeon was attempting to mark a new beginning in the history of the church of

Durham. Paradoxically, and of necessity, he also argued that the monastic community established by Bishop William of St Calais was not an innovation but that it was, in fact, a re-foundation at Durham of the Benedictine monastery which had once tended Cuthbert's shrine on Lindisfarne. The inmates of the Norman monastery in the late eleventh and early twelfth century were, Symeon argued, the spiritual descendants of the original monks of Holy Island who had discovered the incorrupt body of their saintly Bishop-Abbot in 698.(41)

The compiler of the *Liber de translationibus et miraculis sancti Cuthberti* shared the same concern for the success of the Benedictine foundation at Durham as did his fellow monk Symeon.(42) The miracle collection seems to have had three main themes. The *capitula* tell of St Cuthbert's protection of his church, property and the *Haliwerfolc*, the people who looked to him as their patron.(43) Secondly, the miracles demonstrated that Cuthbert's powers of intercession on behalf of the sick and the dying were still effective. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, strong emphasis was placed on links with the Northumbrian roots of the saint's cult. The content of the miracle collection deals with each of these themes and, in so doing, marks itself as a product of the early decades of the twelfth century.

At the beginning of the twelfth century the monastic community of Durham was seeking to justify its position as the proper guardian of the shrine of St Cuthbert. Above all, the monks wished to demonstrate their links with that community of which Cuthbert had been both abbot and bishop at the end of the seventh century. In this respect Lindisfarne was an especially evocative symbol and it is significant that a number of the miracles included in the compilation refer to, or are said to

have actually taken place on, Holy Island. The audience of the miracle stories would hear how the monks of Lindisfarne fled the isle and wandered Northumbria in the late ninth century, driven from their home by the Danish invasions. (44) In the winter of 1069-70 the journey was reversed as the pre-monastic Congregation led by Bishop Egelwin evacuated Durham at the approach of William I's army. The refugees carried Cuthbert's coffin with them and made for the relative sanctuary of Lindisfarne. When they reached the shore opposite the island they found that the tide was high and that the sandy causeway to the island was under water. Miraculously, however, the sea parted and allowed them to pass, dryshod, over the causeway to safety. (45)

Lindisfarne also figures in several other miracle chapters. These all come from the second section identified by Colgrave, which features Prior Turgot prominently. In Miracle 11, for example, a huge shoal of fish was washed up on Lindisfarne but, unfortunately, not onto land owned by the monastery of Durham. The monks were distressed to have their request for their tithe of the fish refused, the more so it being the end of Lent and their food supplies were running low. Nevertheless, Cuthbert provided for his monks by ensuring that an even larger shoal of fish was washed ashore, this time onto a beach indisputably owned by the Convent. (46) As well as recording the beneficence of St Cuthbert towards his monks this story may also indicate that, at this time, the Convent was experiencing some difficulty in ensuring that its tithes were paid by the inhabitants of Islandshire. (47) Another of this group of Lindisfarne stories concerns the attempted theft of a horse belonging to the Convent. Again the saint's power over the forces of nature was demonstrated as the thief was prevented from leaving the island with his

booty by the waves washing across the causeway. Fearing that he was about to drown, he invoked the aid of St Cuthbert and was allowed to return to Lindisfarne and surrender the horse. (48) Finally, Prior Turgot was shown in action dealing with a group of pirates who had attacked a vessel owned by the monks. The pirate ship was driven onto Lindisfarne by a sudden storm and the monastery recovered the stolen cargo and the pirates were treated with leniency by Turgot. (49)

These stories serve two purposes; they make the link between the monastery of Durham and Lindisfarne explicit, and, they also reinforce the fact that the proper authority on the island was that of the prior or his deputy. It should be noted that it was during the first decades of the twelfth century that a monastic cell was re-established on Lindisfarne by the Convent of Durham and the venture was probably overseen by the monk Edward who appears to have been St Cuthbert's representative in Islandshire. (50) Dr Victoria Tudor has pointed out that, by the time of Reginald of Durham's *Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus quae novellis patratae sunt temporibus* (circa 1174), Lindisfarne seems to have become the main centre for Cuthbert's cult for pilgrims who lived north of the Tyne, whilst Durham itself attracted visitors from the south. Perhaps, in these miracle stories from the early twelfth-century compilation, we are witnessing the re-emergence of Lindisfarne as an alternative centre for the cult of St Cuthbert. Alternatively, the emphasis on Lindisfarne might simply reflect the more mundane concern of the Convent of Durham to secure possession of the estates of Islandshire allocated to it in the division of lands between it and the bishop which was made at the establishment of the monastery in 1083. (51) Either or both of these possibilities

would go some way to explain why Lindisfarne should be given such prominence in the *Liber de translationibus et miraculis sancti Cuthberti*.

Continuity with the past was also underlined by the inclusion of that group of miracle accounts based on the records of the pre-monastic Congregation of St Cuthbert. This group is characterised by the predominance of miracles which show the saint punishing his enemies and rewarding those who made gifts to his shrine. The miraculous appearance of Cuthbert to Alfred the Great whilst the latter was in retreat in the Somerset marshes marks the beginning of the association of the greatest of the northern saints with the West Saxon ruling dynasty. (52) Alfred's descendants, most notably Athelstan and Edmund, made votive offerings to St Cuthbert's church at Chester-le-Street and the practice was continued by the Dane, Cnut, in the eleventh century. (53) Other miracle stories in this group show how Cuthbert protected his people, after their flight from Lindisfarne, and also how he punished the ill-advised impiety of the Dane Onlafbal. (54) The Scots, too, suffered a comprehensive fate when they threatened to overrun the saint's patrimony at some date between 883 and 894. (55) Cuthbert's protection also extended to the enemies of the West-Saxon earl of Northumbria, Tostig Godwinson (1055-1065). The writer of this miracle story told how a certain man, Aldan-hamal, who had committed a formidable list of crimes, won freedom from his fetters in Tostig's gaol by invoking the aid of StCuthbert. On his escape, Aldan-hamal took refuge in the 'monastery' (sic) of Durham and received protection when one of Tostig's men, Barcwith, attempted to deny the fugitive's right to sanctuary. Barcwith was struck down by divine anger and died in agony: soon afterwards Tostig began to treat

Aldan-hamal with honour. (56) It seems incongruous that St Cuthbert should protect such an infamous malefactor, whether or not Aldan-hamal was something more than an ordinary outlaw. What was important here, however, was that the right of sanctuary at Cuthbert's shrine should have been vindicated. (56)

The theme of St Cuthbert offering protection to the *Haliwerfolc* and their property recurs in the corpus of literary material produced at Durham during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. (57) Colgrave associated another miracle with the earliest of his groups, but it relates to an incident which was supposed to have taken place after the murder of Bishop Walcher in 1080. (58) A French soldier in the army sent by William I to put down the rebellion in the North-East which began with the bishop's death, was struck down by an *igne ferventissimo* (59) which he had brought upon himself by deceiving the guardians of Cuthbert's tomb with a show of piety in order to have an opportunity of making off with some of the alms left at the saint's shrine. There are echoes in this account of two stories, recorded in Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, concerning William the Conqueror's attempted vindication of the location and condition of Cuthbert's relics, and of the fate which befell a Norman tax-gatherer named Ranulf, who was sent to Durham during the reign of William Rufus. (60) Whereas both the Conqueror and Ranulf escaped with their lives, the unnamed soldier reaped a suitable reward for his impious presumption by dying in a fit of madness. The message would have been clear to all: the power which had struck down the Norman was the same as that which had dealt so summarily with Onalafbal the Dane and an entire army of marauding Scots. The scale may have been different, but the

underlying admonition against attacking the property of the saint remained the same.

The twelfth century has been seen as the period when the cult of St Cuthbert reached its zenith. (61) Certainly, more miracles were recorded and attributed to the saint in this century than at any other period in the history of the cult. (62) This proliferation of *miracula* began early in the century, and the majority of those recorded in the compilation under discussion have been assigned to the period of Turgot's priorate at Durham, 1087 to 1107. The *capitula* in this 'Turgot' group are almost evenly divided between the two basic types of Old and New Testament miracle. Colgrave sensed a change in 'atmosphere' in these miracles when they were compared with the earlier group. Cuthbert's punishments were less severe and the miscreants were allowed either a partial or a full recovery from their sentences. (63) There does, indeed, seem to be a new hand at work in this group of miracle stories, and the hand probably belonged to a monk of the Benedictine refoundation at Durham. Certain features of the 'Turgot' group seem to reflect conditions in the bishopric at the beginning of the twelfth century, and especially noticeable is the prominent role played by the members of the Convent in the *miracula*. Monks, whether the Prior himself or his subordinates were essential to the performance of the miracles, invoking the aid of St Cuthbert either for themselves or on behalf of visitors to Durham. The monastic community is forcefully portrayed as the proper intermediary between those seeking help and the saint. Similarly, those who have offended Cuthbert must, as a necessary first step, make their apologies to the saint's representatives. (64) In a sense, therefore, the participation of the members of the Convent becomes almost as important

as that of Cuthbert himself. Thus we have a monk asking for Cuthbert's help on behalf of a boy unfortunate enough to have been crushed beneath a huge wooden beam on its way up the hill into Durham for the construction of the new cathedral (65). As an example of members of the Convent interceding on behalf of miscreants there is the account of how one of the Bishop's men stole a thread from a silken bag which contained a Gospel Book which was supposed to have belonged to Cuthbert himself. When the thief's leg began to swell up painfully he made his apologies to the prior and asked him to intercede with Cuthbert on his behalf (66). The reader is left in no doubt as to the fact that the prior and Convent are the rightful guardians of Cuthbert's shrine.

In this same group the theme of the protection of the saint's property from outsiders is underlined. The wrongdoers punished by Cuthbert invariably come from beyond the borders of the bishopric, and they seek, in some way, to injure the reputation of the saint or attack his possessions. In this way insults to the Prior and Convent are dealt with severely. One of the miracle stories illustrates this point particularly well. The monks of Durham claimed the church of Tynemouth, but, during his occupation of the earldom of Northumberland, Robert de Mowbray made a gift of the church to the abbey of St Albans. The *miraculum* in question related how both the earl and the Abbot of St Albans were punished for their actions; Abbot Paul died in 1093 soon after visiting his new acquisition, whilst Robert de Mowbray lost his position and his liberty after his involvement in the rebellion against Rufus in 1094. (67) This particular episode has a sequel which suggests that Cuthbert's wrath was directed only against Abbot Paul and not against all subsequent abbots of St Albans. One of the miracles

associated with the Translation of Cuthbert in 1104 relates how Richard, Abbot of St Albans was cured of a long-standing infirmity in his left hand by seeking the aid of Christ through the intercession of St Cuthbert. The healing of the abbot's disability probably reflects an easing of the tensions between Durham and St Albans over the issue of the church of Tynemouth, although the dispute over ownership blew hot and cold until a final resolution was made in 1174. (68)

The figure of Prior Turgot looms large in the miracle compilation. Although never mentioned by name, the *memoratus praepositus...praefatus praepositus* is most probably Turgot who was one of the founders of the monastic revival in the North-East in the 1070s. (69) By contrast, the figures of the bishops of Durham rarely appear in connexion with the performance of Cuthbert's miracles. They are mentioned in a very few of the *capitula*, and where they are noticed it is usually incidentally. In one account the bishop (William of St Calais) returned from exile on the very day that two armies which were threatening Durham miraculously dispersed. (70) Another miracle may be dated by its reference to the murder of Bishop Walcher in 1080. (71) Bishop Ranulf Flambard received the most coverage but this can hardly be said to have been especially favourable. The bishop took no part in the inspection of the body of St Cuthbert and it is noted that he was ready to join those who doubted the monks' report of what they had seen. (72) When the public examination of the relics took place Flambard was elsewhere in Durham dedicating an altar and, during the ceremony of the Translation itself, it is reported that his sermon was exceedingly long and off the point. To the relief of the crowd listening to the Bishop's ramblings, a rainstorm appeared out of a clear sky to cut short the episcopal oration.

This treatment of the bishops of Durham in the miracle compilation illuminates the relationship between the Convent and the holders of the episcopal chair in early twelfth-century Durham. William of St Calais was, for most of his time as bishop, close to the centre of royal government and, was, as a consequence, often absent from Durham. During Bishop William's episcopate the priorate was elevated to a position second only to the bishop himself. Prior Turgot, especially, seems to have assumed the role *in loco episcopi* as the main arbiter of matters concerning the lands and possessions of St Cuthbert. Turgot is seen acting in an archidiaconal capacity, (73) and one of the sources claimed that Bishop William invested the Prior with that office. (74) The power of the Prior was also enhanced by the division of lands between the Convent and Bishop that was made by William of St Calais on his establishment of the monastery. (75) In these circumstances, it is likely that Bishop William's relationship with the monks was cordial. However, the same cannot be said of that between the Convent and Ranulf Flambard.

To begin with, it was Flambard who had exploited the revenues of the bishopric on behalf of the crown during the vacancy between William of St Calais' death in 1096 and Flambard's own appointment in 1099. (76) By the time of Flambard's elevation to the see of Durham, he had all but lost his influence at the royal court. On Henry I's accession, Flambard was imprisoned and later fled into exile in Normandy. Turgot's pre-eminence in the affairs of Durham was not seriously challenged until the Bishop's return from exile. Flambard began to encroach upon lands which the monks had considered their own. In addition the Bishop's many relatives begin to appear in the records for the see and existing episcopal charters give some idea of the extent of this nepotism.

Although Flambard, on his death-bed, made specific restitution of property to the Convent, it is, nevertheless, to his episcopate that the beginnings of the rift between the interests of the Bishop and Convent can be traced. Disputes between the bishops and monks concerning lands and privileges continued throughout the twelfth century and were resolved only at the beginning of the thirteenth when the settlement was recorded in a document known as *Le Conventit*. (77) As Cuthbert had been Bishop as well as Abbot of Lindisfarne one might have expected his successors in that office to have received a more prominent place in the record of his posthumous miracles. However, the authors of the miracle stories were partisan observers of the relationship between the Bishop and the monks; the Bishop was judged on his treatment of the Convent and it was unlikely that an avaricious pontiff, such as Flambard, would be allowed to undermine the monks' relationship with their patron. This said, two points should be noted about the presentation of the bishops. First, the monastic writers do not heap excessive opprobrium onto the incumbents of the episcopate. Their words may have been tempered by the fact that Flambard was probably still alive when they were writing. Secondly, the story of Bishop Egelwin leading the Congregation of St Cuthbert to safety on Lindisfarne in 1069 belongs to the pre-monastic tradition at Durham. There seems to have been a closer relationship between the Bishop and the guardians of St Cuthbert before the ejection of the latter from Durham in 1083. The compiler of the miracle collection did not follow Symeon of Durham in reporting Bishop Egelwin's ignominious end. According to the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* Egelwin absconded with part of the treasure of the church but was caught and imprisoned by the Conqueror at the siege of Ely in 1071. (78)

Prior Turgot is portrayed in the miracle stories as the ultimate arbiter of affairs concerning the rights and property of St Cuthbert. Felons were brought before him and were at the mercy of his judgement. (79) It was he who led an expedition to the royal court on behalf of the *Haliwerfolc*. (80) The suggestion is that Turgot was thought of as the natural choice when the interests of the see and its people needed to be represented. Of direct relevance to the miracle collection is the fact that it is Turgot, and not the bishop, who presides over the opening of St Cuthbert's tomb in 1104. Indeed, all matters concerning the shrine are referred to him. Finally, he is shown as a material benefactor of the cathedral church, providing it with a great bell, the transportation to Durham of which is the occasion for one of the miracle stories. Turgot had ordered the bell, which was cast in London, to be brought to Durham on a waggon drawn by no less than twenty-two bullocks. Unfortunately, as the bell was being slowly edged towards the city, a young man was caught by his tunic and dragged under the wheel of the cart. He lay motionless as if dead, whereupon the monk accompanying the bell called upon St Cuthbert to send help. Although understandably shaken by his ordeal, the youth was soon able to rise and walk about, exclaiming, '*O quam gravis est haec campana!*' When the party reached Durham, the monks offered thanks at Cuthbert's tomb for the restoration of one who was thought to have been dead. (81) The presentation of the Prior in the miracle collection as a man of some wealth, wielding considerable power, and standing second only to the bishop, is wholly commensurate with what is known, from other sources, of his role in the political, social, and ecclesiastical hierarchy of Durham at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The centrepiece of the miracle compilation is the lengthy description of the opening of Cuthbert's tomb in 1104 and the translation of the relics to the new cathedral under construction. (82) Two other *miracula* are closely associated with the translation and, significantly, one represents a cure provided for the Abbot of St Albans, whilst the other describes punishment meted out to one of the episcopal officials who tried to make off with one of the holy relics. (83) The foundation upon which Cuthbert's sanctity was based remained the fact that, in 698, his body had been discovered undecayed after eleven years in the tomb. By the late eleventh century, however, doubts had already arisen as to whether Cuthbert's body actually rested at Durham and whether or not the miraculous preservation of the corpse described in the earliest *Vitae* of Cuthbert could still be witnessed. The anonymous author of the Translation chapter in the miracle collection set out the problems faced by the monks,

Thus the one party conjecturing that the holy body had been carried away elsewhere, and the other not allowing its incorruption, the brethren who affirmed that it was there, and in a perfect state, were disbelieved, and they became anxious for their reputation. (84)

The translation of the body in August 1104 provided the ideal opportunity for the monks to vindicate their claim that Cuthbert still lay at Durham and that his corpse was as undecayed as it had been centuries before. The Translation chapter describes two inspections of Cuthbert's body. The first was undertaken by the Prior and eight of the monks, but their report of what they had found was treated with scepticism by some of those who had assembled at Durham for the

ceremony. In response to the voicing of these doubts it was finally decided that a more public examination of the corpse should be made. Those present were listed by the author, and it is significant that Flambard should have been absent from the proceedings, although he was in the city at the time. This again would seem to confirm that, in matters relating to the cult of St Cuthbert, the Norman bishops of Durham played a relatively minor role. Ralph, Abbot of Seez was given the special privilege of examining the saint's body, and he essayed the corpse vigorously. A peculiar feature of Cuthbert's miraculous preservation was that the joints of his body remained flexible and the Abbot of Seez tested this by manipulating the head, arms and ears of the saint in what seems to have been a very uncompromising manner. (85) After his examination of the body, Ralph of Seez reported to his colleagues,

My brethren, the body which we have before us is unquestionably dead, but it is just as sound and entire as when it was abandoned by its holy soul on its way to the skies. (86)

The monks' reputation had been salvaged and the central miracle of Cuthbert's cult had been reaffirmed. The monks were at once confirming their connexion with the Northumbrian traditions of the cult-they used Bede's description of Cuthbert's coffin as a guide to what they might find-and yet they were making a break, marking a new phase, in the history of the cult. The Translation of 1104 can be seen as the last element in a series of three important events which sought to associate the cult of the saint with the 'new order' introduced into the secular and ecclesiastical world of the North-East in the wake of the Norman Conquest. The Translation follows the re-foundation of the monastery in

1083 and the start of work on the new cathedral a decade later. It is surely no coincidence that the Translation should have taken place exactly eleven years after work on the cathedral had begun, for that was the same period which lay between Cuthbert's burial in 687 and his removal to a new shrine in 698. To the monks, thoroughly versed in the details of Cuthbert's life, this fact would have been of considerable moment. At each turn we see the monks of the early twelfth century making conscious reference to the past in order to bolster their position as the guardians of Cuthbert's body.

As in the case of many other Anglo-Saxon shrines, Durham had come under scrutiny after the Conquest. Symeon reported William I's attempt to verify the claims of the pre-monastic community to possession of the thaumaturge's body, but no inspection was made on that occasion. (87) If the body had been inspected in 1070 and found to be incorrupt whilst in the custody of the quasi-monastic Congregation it would have been that much harder for the later Norman bishops to justify their ejection of that community from the shrine of St Cuthbert. If, on the other hand, the body was discovered to have decayed there was the possibility that the impiety of those who had forced the examination could be cited as the reason for the demise of the saint's visible holiness. It seems likely, therefore, that once this was pointed out to William I he changed his mind about inspecting the shrine. This decision was interpreted by the miracle writers as proof that William had been miraculously chastised for his presumption. In this respect James Raine's theory that the miracle story disguises the fact that the Conqueror was poisoned by the keepers of the shrine, in order to prevent his inspection of the relics, seems unnecessarily elaborate. (88)

In the early twelfth century the monastic Convent was seeking to establish its position as the corporation most suitably qualified for tending Cuthbert's tomb, and it had to be shown that it was under its regime that the central miracle of the cult was re-affirmed. It is also of importance that it is not until the late twelfth century and the miracle stories of Reginald of Durham that it was acknowledged explicitly that the body's incorruption was regularly seen under the pre-monastic regime. In Symeon's *Historia* the sacrist Elfred Westou is described simply as a prodigiously effective relic hunter, but, by the time that Reginald was writing, Elfred had become a man who was wont to cut the hair and pare the finger-nails of the saint as well as hold conversations with him. (89) By Reginald's day the Convent had firmly established itself as the rightful guardian of the saint and memories of the Congregation of St Cuthbert must have dimmed, if not flickered out completely. Thus the monks could, in their corporate confidence, afford to acknowledge that their predecessors, although tainted with worldliness, did indeed possess the incorrupt body.

At the end of the eleventh century and at the beginning of the twelfth, the cult of St Cuthbert at Durham was undergoing a period of transition. Bold breaks with the past had been made with the disbanding of the pre-monastic Congregation of Durham, the demolition of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, founded by Bishop Aldhun, and the removal of Cuthbert's relics from a shrine which they had occupied for over a century. In some ways the cult of St Cuthbert was experiencing a traumatic rebirth and, in the process, the custodians of that cult were evincing a certain degree of defensiveness about their position. There was also the need to establish a link with the past so that the new order would not seem

wholly alien and provoke a conservative reaction from the adherents of pre-monastic traditions, for as Symeon reports there were many in the bishopric who were intensely proud of their ability to trace their ancestry back to one of the seven porters of Cuthbert's coffin in the ninth century. (90) The miracle collection made at Durham in the first decades of the twelfth century reflects this period of transition and uncertainty. The content and the typology of the *miracula* are consistent with the historical traditions which the monks had inherited and also indicate the conditions at Durham at this period. Writing at the turn of the twelfth century, a monk of the recently founded Benedictine monastery in Durham had several preoccupations which, it has been argued here, influenced his presentation of the thaumaturgical powers of St Cuthbert. The new community needed to establish that link with the Northumbrian past which had generated the cult focussed on the shrine at the heart of their cathedral church. The corporate desire for continuity with this heritage manifested itself in the body of literary material produced at Durham in the first decades of the twelfth century. The production of Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* marked the beginning of a historiographical tradition at Durham represented by such figures as Prior Laurence, Reginald, and Maurice of Rievaulx. The miracle compilation stressed the links with the past, especially in its portrayal of the efficacy of Cuthbert's thaumaturgical powers. Lindisfarne was re-established as a cult centre by the monks of Durham, reviving memories of the original seventh-century site of Cuthbert's bishopric and monastery. The new foundation also needed protection from the attentions of those who sought to diminish Cuthbert's reputation or his lands and possessions. Just as the saint had protected the

Haliwerfolc from the Danes or the Scots so now, in the early twelfth century, he warded off the descendants of those earlier marauders, namely the Normans and the armies of Malcolm III of Scotland. On a smaller scale, Cuthbert protected his church from the threats posed by bands of North Sea pirates, or felons trying to make off with such seemingly insignificant items as the belt of the monastery's ass-keeper. (91) Some of the miracle stories abound in the sort of topographical detail in which landmarks are explained and this implies that the intended audience lay outwith the bishopric. (92) The publicisation of the cult of St Cuthbert would serve the double purpose of warning outsiders of the saint's power and advertising the fact that Cuthbert's shrine was a place where prayers for the cure of infirmities were likely to be answered.

The success of medieval saints' cults was invariably established by the working of miracles at shrines. Hence it is that the early twelfth-century miracle compilation contained a number of 'New Testament' miracles demonstrating that Cuthbert's restorative powers were still efficacious despite the upheavals which the church of Durham had undergone. The beneficiaries of these cures were, for the most part, locals, yet their numbers also included invalids from outside the bishopric, most notably Richard, Abbot of St Albans, and an unnamed clerk from the south of England. (93) Finally, and most importantly, the central miracle upon which Cuthbert's cult was founded, the incorruption of his body in death, was demonstrated for a new age. The story of the 1104 Translation was reiterated by Reginald in his *Libellus* and it continued to be the mainstay of his hagiographical fame.

The early miracle collection was no haphazard compilation. The typology of the miracle contained within it demonstrates the validity of the thesis which relates the type of *miraculum* to the particular historical conditions in which it was recorded. Whereas we might expect a cult of the antiquity of Cuthbert's to produce a miracle collection dominated by 'New Testament' *miracula*, the relative proportion of 'Old' and 'New Testament' miracles in the compilation discussed here suggests that it was the product of a monastic institution at once anxious to seek the protection of its patron saint from outside threats, yet also eager to encourage pilgrims to come to the shrine to seek cures by the intercession of the thaumaturge. Underlying both these themes is an understandable and necessary desire to establish links with the past history of the cult. It had to be obvious to all, and especially to the compiler's own brethren, that the changes that had been made in Durham since 1083 and which had culminated in the great Translation of 1104 had not adversely affected the ability of the saint to demonstrate his powers of intercession with the Lord through the working of miracles.

On the evidence of the early twelfth-century Durham compilation it is clear that miracle collections should not be ignored by the historian or dismissed contemptuously as medieval fantasies. An examination of the typology and the content of the miracles recorded can provide significant insights into the concerns of the community at the particular time that the compilation was generated. Later in the twelfth century, Durham faced a different set of problems. Rival cults were drawing pilgrims to the shrines of Finchale, Canterbury and Bury, and the response of the community at Durham was the production of 118 miracle stories by Reginald, the majority of which recorded the performance of miraculous

cures, the very kind of miracle guaranteed to appeal to pilgrims trying to decide upon a shrine to patronise. Despite the antiquity of Cuthbert's cult, the miracle profile of the compilation produced at Durham in the early twelfth century resembles that which one might expect from a newly established shrine, and, indeed, the veneration of the saintly Bishop-Abbot of Lindisfarne emerged from this traumatic rebirth and reached its apogee in the twelfth century.

Endnotes.

1. The discussion presented in this article was initially tested in a seminar paper presented to the English History Seminar at the University of East Anglia. I would like to thank the chairman of that seminar, Dr Roger Virgoe, for inviting me to speak, and Professor J.H. Denton and Mr A.E. Goodman who read the article in draft. Their comments were very helpful and any errors which remain are mine alone.
2. Symeon of Durham, *H(istoria) D(unelmensis) E(cclesiae)* in *Symeonis monachi Opera Omnia* ed. T. Arnold, I, Rolls Series (1882-5), Book III, cap.xv, 98-99.
3. Symeon, *HDE*, I, 116-117.
4. Symeon of Durham, *H(istoria) R(egum)* in *Symeonis monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, II, Rolls Series (1882-5), 199 (building of Durham castle), 211 (building of Newcastle).
5. Symeon, *HDE*, I, 128-129.
6. Symeon, *HDE*, I, 1-169.
7. By 'pre-monastic' is meant before the refoundation of the Benedictine monastery in 1083. It is by no means clear when, or even if, monastic observances fell into disuse amongst the Congregation of St Cuthbert.
8. The *H(istoria de) S(ancto) C(uthberto)* is printed by T. Arnold in his edition of Symeon's works (I, 196-214), although it was not the work of Symeon. The *HSC* was a tenth-century production of the Cuthbertine community at Chester-le-Street, added to in the eleventh. See G. Bonner, 'St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street' and D. Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex: the evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183,' in eds. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe, *St Cuthbert and his Community to AD1200*.
9. H.H.E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', *English Historical Review*, XL (1925), 504-32.
10. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, (Cambridge, 1940), 131.
11. The two earliest accounts of the discovery of Cuthbert's undecayed body are to be found in the *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo* and Bede's *Vita sancti Cuthberti Prosaica* in Colgrave, *Two Lives*.
12. Colgrave, *Two Lives*, 131, 133.
13. Colgrave, *Two Lives*, 293.

14. Aspects of the early development of the cult of St Cuthbert are traced in eds. Bonner et al. *St Cuthbert*, Part One.
15. There is some evidence to suggest that a move from Lindisfarne occurred earlier than 875. During the episcopate of Bishop Egred (830-45), St Cuthbert, according to the *HSC* moved to Norham-on-Tweed. There is no indication of a move back to Lindisfarne before 875. For a discussion of this point see E. Craster, 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', *EHR*, LXIX, (1954), 187-188. For Bishop Aldhun and the establishment of the church at Durham, see Symeon, *HDE*, I, Book III, iv, 82-84.
16. Bishop Aldhun himself had a daughter, Ecgthryth, who married Uhtred, Earl of Northumbria (c.1006-1016). See the *De Obsessione Dunelmi* in Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 215-220.
17. B. Colgrave, 'The Post-Bedan Miracles and Translations of St Cuthbert,' in eds. C. Fox, B. Dickins, *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe* (*H.M. Chadwick Memorial Studies*), Cambridge, 1950.
18. The miracle chapters are printed in Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 229-261; II, 333-362.
19. Colgrave, 'Miracles', 326-332.
20. Colgrave and Arnold number the miracle chapters differently, with Arnold inserting the lengthy Translation chapter after the opening six miracles of Colgrave's first group. In this paper Colgrave's numbering of the miracles is followed.
21. Colgrave, 'Miracles', 326-327.
22. Miracles 1-7 printed in Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 229-247 and II, 333-335.
23. A description of Turgot's career is given by the author of the *HR*, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 202-205.
24. Colgrave, 'Miracles,' 327-328.
25. Colgrave ('Miracles', 329, Miracle 13) points out that the author of this group claims to have witnessed in person the cure of a clerk from the South of England at Cuthbert's shrine.
26. Colgrave, 'Miracles,' 329. Miracles 8-17, 21 printed in Symeon, *Opera Omnia* II, 335-359.
27. Miracles 18, 19, 20 printed in Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 247-61; II, 359-362. There is a translation of Miracle 18 in James Raine, *St Cuthbert*, (Durham, 1828), 75-85.

29. ...ecce! beati patris venerabile corpus, scilicet fructum desiderii sui, reperiunt, quod, in dextro latere iacens tota sui integritate artuumque flexibilitate dormientum magis repraesentabat quam mortuum. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 252.

30. For the suggestion that the author of the Translation chapter was Maurice of Rievaulx, see F.M. Powicke, 'Maurice of Rievaulx,' *EHR*, XXXVI, 17-29. Cf. Colgrave, 'Miracles,' 332. Reginald of Durham, in his version of the Translation chapter, claimed that none of those who attended the opening of Cuthbert's coffin produced an account of it. Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus quae novellis patratae sunt temporibus*, ed. James Raine, Surtees Soc. 1, (Durham, 1835), caps. XL-XLIII, 84-90.

31. See the comments made by Victoria Tudor in 'The Cult in the Twelfth Century: the evidence of Reginald of Durham,' in eds. G. Bonner et al. *St Cuthbert*, 450. A particularly extreme view of the untrustworthiness of the miracle stories was adopted by James Raine the Elder. Raine was entrusted with the excavation of Cuthbert's tomb in 1827 when only a skeleton was found. This discovery served, of course, to confirm, in Raine's own mind, that he was right to be sceptical of the 'miraculous'. See below 19, note 88.

32. Sister Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, (Revised ed., 1987), 62.

33. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 62.

34. Colgrave, *Two Lives*, 137, 139.

35. In this early period there were none of the rigorous examinations of claims to sainthood as applied by the papacy after 1215. Many of the reputations of the early saints were established either by popular acclaim or through the writings of an early hagiographer.

36. Miracles 1,3,4. Miracle 1 (Symeon, *Opera Omnia* I, 229-34) deals with Cuthbert's appearance to Alfred the Great when the latter's fortunes were at their lowest ebb. In return for the king's hospitality the saint promised Alfred victory in battle against the Danes. Miracle 3 (Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 238-40) tells of the impiety of the Danish chieftain, Onlafbal, who was struck down on trying to enter Cuthbert's church after pouring scorn on the saint's reputation. Finally, there can be no better illustration of the 'Old Testament' type of miracle than that contained in Miracle 4 (Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, 240-242). A marauding Scots army was, at the intervention of St Cuthbert, swallowed up by the earth in the same way as 'Dathan and the company of Abiram' had met their fate. The biblical allusion drawn by the author of the miracle chapter comes from Psalms, CVI, verse xvii, *Aperta est terra et deglutivit Dathan, et operuit super congregationem Abiron*.

37. Victoria Tudor discusses the composition of Reginald of Durham's miracle compilation in her article, 'The cult in the Twelfth century'.

Dr Tudor estimates that only a fifth of the miracles recorded by Reginald deal with retribution meted out by Cuthbert.

38. For Bishop Aldhun's relationship with the House of Bamburgh, see above, n.16.

39. S.J. Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio*: Post-conquest attitudes to the saints of the Anglo-Saxons,' in ed. R. Allen Brown, *Anglo-Norman Studies (Proceedings of the Battle Conference)* IX, 196.

40. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 130-132.

41. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 11.

42. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that Symeon was one of the authors of the miracles or the compiler of the collection.

43. *Haliwerfolc*, literally the 'Holy man's people'.

44. For the suggestion that these 'wanderings may not have been as aimless as has been thought see D. Rollason, 'The Wanderings of St Cuthbert' in ed. D. Rollason, *Cuthbert, Saint and Patron* (Durham, 1987).

45. Miracle 6, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 245-247.

46. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 343-344.

47. Islandshire is a district of Northumberland contiguous to Lindisfarne. It is thought to have been one of the earliest possessions of the church there. See E. Craster, *EHR* LXIX, 178.

48. Miracle 15, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 350-352.

49. Miracle 17, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 353-356.

50. On Edward the monk and Islandshire, see the grant of Bishop Ranulf Flambard, in H.S. Offler, *Durham Episcopal Charters*, (Surtees Soc., CLXXIX, Durham, 1968), 92.

51. Edward the monk (of Coldingham); Offler, *DEC*, 90, 92-3, 95-6.

52. D. Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex' and Luisella Simpson, 'The King Alfred/St Cuthbert episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: Its significance for mid-tenth-century English History.' in eds. Bonner et al. *St Cuthbert*.

53. For Athelstan's visit to Chester-le-Street see *HSC*, in Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 211-212. Edmund's visit is recorded in Symeon, *HDE*, *Opera Omnia* I, 76. For Cnut's pilgrimage see Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, Book III, cap. viii.

54. Miracle 2, (flight from Lindisfarne), 3, (Onalafbal) in Symeon, *Opera Omnia* I, 234-40.

55. Miracle 4, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 240-42.
56. Miracle 5, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 243-45. W.E. Kapelle suggests that the figure of Aldan-hamal represents the penetration of organised bands of raiders from the northern 'free zone' into the fertile east coast plains of the North. See Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, (London, 1979), 129-31. For a discussion of the right of sanctuary at Cuthbert's tomb, see D. Hall 'The Sanctuary of St Cuthbert' in eds. Bonner et al. *St Cuthbert*, 425-436.
57. This theme has been examined by B. Meehan in 'Outsiders, Insiders and Property at Durham, c. 1100' in ed. D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 12.
58. Miracle 7, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 333-335.
59. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 344.
60. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, Book III, caps. xix-xx.
61. Tudor, 'The Cult in the Twelfth Century', 447.
62. Reginald of Durham's *Libellus* contains 118 twelfth-century miracles. Tudor, 'The cult in the twelfth century,' 454, n.47.
63. For example, Miracle 10, (Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 341-343); Miracle 14, (II, 348-50); Miracle 15, (II, 350-352); Miracle 17 (II, 353-356); Miracle 20 (II, 361-62).
64. As in Miracles 15 and 20.
65. Miracle 16, Symeon *Opera Omnia*, II, 352-53.
66. Miracle 20.
67. Miracle 12, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 345-347, where the author concludes, 'Ita una ecclesiola beato Cuthberto ablata, alter vitam, alter non solum divitias et honores, sed etiam, quod his omnibus pluris habuit, corporis libertatem amisit.'
68. Miracle 19, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 359-361. For a discussions of the disputed title to Tynemouth, see Offler, *DEC*, 41-45.
69. Anne Dawtry 'The Benedictine Revival in the North: The Last Bulwark of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism.' in *Studies in Church History* XVIII.
70. Miracle 9, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 338-341. The reappearance of William of St Calais dates this story exactly to 11 September 1091.
71. Miracle 7, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 334.
72. Translation chapter, Miracle 18, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 247-61. Flambard's 'longioris sermonis' is found at p.260.

73. For example see Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 198.
74. H.S. Offler, 'The Early Archdeacons in the Diocese of Durham,' in *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, XI, (1962), 189-207, especially at 191-7.
75. The foundation charters of Durham Abbey were forged in the middle of the twelfth century when the dispute between the bishops and the monks was at its height. The documents are printed in Offler, *DEC* nos. 3*, 3a*, 3b*, 4*, 4a*, 4b* and 7*.
76. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 107-108.
77. *Le Convent* printed in ed. W. Greenwell, *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis* (Surtees Soc. LVIII, 1872). Charters recording Flambard's restitution of property to the monks are printed in Offler, *DEC* nos. 24, 25.
78. Miracle 6, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 245-47. Egelwin's capture at Ely is found at Symeon, I, 105.
79. See above p.10.
80. Miracle 10, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 341-43.
81. Miracle 21, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 356-59. It should be noted that, once again, it is a member of the monastic community who intercedes with Cuthbert on behalf of one in need.
82. M.G. Snape, 'Documentary Evidence for the building of Durham Cathedral,' in *Medieval Archaeology and Architecture at Durham* (*Transactions of the British Archaeological Association Conference* 1977), 20ff.
83. Miracles 18, 20, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 247-61; II, 359-62. For the cure of the Abbot of St Albans and its significance see above p.14.
84. Taliter his ablationem sancti corporis coniectantibus illis incorruptionem non admittentibus, affirmantium illud et adesse, et incorruptum perdurare, fratrum fidei detrahebatur, ideoque pudor aliquantisper anxius ingerebatur. (Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 248.
85. Abbot Ralph is decribed as manhandling the corpse very roughly, testing the mobility of the joints and even making sure that the ears were still flexible by bending them backwards and forwards. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 258-59, Deinde, manu admota, firmiter aurem trahens et retrahens et post hos alias quoque corporis partes manu perscrutante explorans, solidum nervis et ossibus cum carnis mollitis reperit corpus.
86. 'Ecce!' inquires, 'fratres, hoc corpus iacet hic quidem exanime, sed ita sanum et integrum, sicut ea die qua caelestia petens, id sancta reliquerat anima.' Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 259.

87. See Ridyard, '*Condigna Veneratio*',. William I's attempted inspection of Cuthbert's relics is described by Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, 106.

88. 'No words shall be wasted as to any divine interference and the conclusion must be come to at once, that, supposing, as I have already said, the story to be true, the clergy of Durham did not venture to pass off the well swathed bones of their long-deceased bishop of which they were unquestionably in possession, as an entire body, with joints flexible and flesh succulent, but, they had recourse to a dark and dangerous plan for striking terror into the king and his attendants. Under this impression, my reader may perhaps exclaim with Hubert in *King John* "The king, I fear is poisoned by a monk." J. Raine, *St Cuthbert*, p.67.

89. Elfred Westou operated in the middle of the eleventh century scouring the derelict churches of Northumbria for any relic from the history of the Anglo-Saxon church. The fact that, in 1104, Cuthbert's coffin was full to the brim with relics seems to have been largely due to this cleric. (Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, Book III, vii.) Ailred of Rievaulx traced his ancestry back to Elfred Westou. W.H.D. Longstaffe, 'The Hereditary sacerdotage of Hexham,' in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 2nd series, 4, (1860), and the *Life of Ailred of Rievaulx* by Walter Daniel, ed. F.M. Powicke.

90. Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, I, Book II, cap.xii.

91. Miracles 14, 17, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 348-50; 353-56.

92. Colgrave, 'Miracles,' 323.

93. Miracles 19, 13, Symeon, *Opera Omnia*, II, 359-61; I, 347-48.

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| | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|--|
| <i>Papalia</i> | [Pap.] | Papal Bulls |
| <i>Regalia</i> | [Reg.] | Royal charters, etc. |
| <i>Pontificalia</i> | [Pont.] | Charters, confirmations, etc., of the Bishops of Durham. |
| <i>Archidiaconalia Dunelmensia</i> | [Archid. Dun.] | Relating to the Convent's churches in the archdeaconry of Durham. |
| <i>Archidiaconalia Northumbrensia</i> | [Archid. North.] | Relating to the Convent's churches in the archdeaconry of Northumberland. |
| <i>Specialia</i> | [Spec.] | Charters, deeds, etc., relating to the Convent's estates in the diocese of Durham. (Arranged under place-names). |
| <i>Eboracensia</i> | [Ebor.] | Records of the Convent's estates in the archdiocese of York and elsewhere in England, such as the estates in Lincolnshire, or Nottinghamshire. |
| <i>Locelli</i> | [Loc.] | A miscellaneous collection of Conventual documents. |
| <i>Miscellaneous Charters</i> | [Misc. Ch.] | A very large class of documents, (c. 7,200 items), which includes the charters relating to Scotland . |
| <i>Elemosinaria</i> | [Elemos.] | Almoner's deeds. |
| <i>Sacristaria</i> | [Sacrist.] | Sacrist's deeds. |

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A. II. 4 William of St Calais' Bible.

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Ms. V. ii. 6 Symeon of Durham.

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